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USSR Report

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES



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4 June 1985

USSR REPORT

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 1984

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USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES ISI RESULTS IN THE LIGHT OF THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE
JUNE 1983 CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 84
(signed to press 25 Oct 84) pp 3-10

[Article by Vilen Nikolayevich Ivanov, doctor of philosophical sciences, director of the USSR AN ISI and author of more than 70 works on scientific communism and sociology of propaganda, including "Leninskiye Idei o Nauchnom Upravlenii Sotsialisticheskim Obshchestvom" [Leninist Ideas on the Scientific Management of Socialist Society] (1970); "Nauchnoye Upravleniye Sotsialisticheskim Obshchestvom" [Scientific Management of Socialist Society] (1972); and "Sistema Upravleniya Trudovym Kollektivom" [Labor Collective Management System] (1977). Author of a number of articles published in our journal, including "Sociological Research and Propaganda Work" (No 2, 1980); "Sociological Science on the Level of Contemporary Social Development Tasks" (No 4, 1983); "Topical Problems of Perfecting Social Planning" (No 2, 1984) and others]

[Text] The expanded program for party ideological activities formulated at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, ascribes an important role to the social sciences. The sciences must make a profound study of the developed socialist society, identify its inherent contradictions, promptly expose the reasons for arising problems and thus scientifically ensure the implementation of key practical assignments.

Based on the stipulations of the plenum and in accordance with the criticism addressed at the USSR AN ISI [Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research], included in K. U. Chernenko's report, the management, the Scientific Council and the party bureau formulated a comprehensive plan for reorganizing the institute's activities. The planned measures were approved by the bureau of the Department of Philosophy and Law. The decree of the USSR AN Presidium, passed on the results of the investigation of the institute by an Academy of Sciences commission, played an important role in perfecting the organization and upgrading the standard of ISI research.

In accordance with the resolutions of the department's bureau and the USSR AN Presidium, the main attention was focused on the following problems: refining the concept of the institute's scientific research, improving the planning and organization of scientific work, upgrading the quality and practical significance of sociological research and maximally subordinating them to the task of

perfecting social relations in developed socialist society. The implementation of these targets is ensured by the reorganization of the institute's structure. The consolidation of departments and the creation of new sectors and topic groups enabled us to direct the efforts of scientific cadres on the solution of long-range theoretical and applied problems.

The organization currently under way is aimed at energizing the activities of the majority of scientific ISI subdivisions. The institute's associates are engaged in intensive studies on all basic planned and a number of unplanned topics. The collective participated in the formulation of a comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress. The study of data acquired in the course of two all-union studies on "Status and Basic Trends in the Development of the Way of Life in Soviet Society" and "Social Development Indicators in Soviet Society" is continuing. Conclusions and recommendations based on the results of the first stage of the study of the way of life were submitted to the directive-issuing authorities and party committees. Practical science conferences were held, collections of articles published and a monograph is under preparation on the basis of the data obtained.

The system of social indicators is one of the main research topics. It is not only of major theoretical but of practical significance as well, above all in terms of perfecting social statistics in the country. The formulation and practical application of such a system will enable us to reflect in quantitative and qualitative characteristics of the social development of the society and the social efficiency of management decisions made in the various socialist construction areas.

The initial results of said developments have already found a practical application. Thus, sufficient empirical data on the most significant social processes were obtained and vital social problems were identified in the course of sociological studies conducted in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Azerbaijan and Turkmenia. Based on the work done by the scientist, the Azerbaijan Republic party organization made a number of decisions aimed at further perfecting the population's way of life and socioeconomic relations. A second study was completed recently here, which enabled us to define the efficiency of the steps which were taken and social development prospects.

Incidentally, increasing attention is being paid by the institute currently on problems of social forecasting and its methodological principles. In this area theoretical and applied studies are closely coordinated. Thus, long-term social problems of Soviet society were systematized and the results were submitted to the directive-issuing bodies. The forecast for the development of the social structure through the year 2005, formulated by ISI personnel, was included in the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress in the USSR for 1986-2005. In particular, they computed the dynamics of the numerical size of the basic social groups of employed population by 5-year periods and defined the most important specific integration trends of the working class and the intensified social homogeneity in our society.

At the same time, intensive studies are being made of the rapprochement between the working class and the intelligentsia, changes in the social

structure of the rural population under the conditions of agroindustrial integration and the characteristics of the development of basic professional detachments of the intelligentsia.

The institute's personnel actively undertook to develop the school and vocational training reform. Our suggestions were considered in the "Basic Directions in the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools." The scientists' conclusions and recommendations were based, in particular, on data of the recently completed large-scale studies of teachers as a socioprofessional detachment of the intelligentsia and the efficiency of specialist training in Moscow secondary schools. Tools for the sociological study of the efficiency of vocational-technical education have been prepared.

As the economy develops and planning and management improve, their social trend intensifies and the role of the human factor in resolving production problems increases. Of late the institute has substantially energized its studies in the area of the special problems of labor, production and development of labor collectives. This work is being conducted along two lines: 1) social consequences of the intensification of public production, automation and comprehensive mechanization and application of NTR [Scientific and Technical Revolution] achievements; social factors of upgrading labor productivity and work quality, the functioning of labor collectives and scientific and technical progress.

In this connection, the study of problems related to the utilization, reproduction and quality of labor resources, the social situation of the different groups of working people, labor conditions and incentive methods is of prime importance. For a long time the quality characteristics of labor resources were interpreted quite narrowly and were essentially reduced to parameters such as age, educational level and skill and social and territorial migrations. Studies conducted in recent years, including those by ISI personnel, indicated the need to add to them indicators reflecting the population's health, the territorial and ethnic features of the way of life and the influence of the ecological situation. In cooperation with representatives of other fields of knowledge, the ISI associates set themselves the task of formulating measures which would reduce to a minimum or substantially limit the adverse effect of new technological systems (in industry and agriculture) on human health.

Let us take as an example the study jointly conducted by the institute and the institutions of the RSFSR Ministry of Health in Krasnodar Kray. The study target was a kolkhoz with a high-level agricultural mechanization and chemization. Over the past 20 years, progressive technical and economic changes had been made here steadily. At the same time, during that period the morbidity structure of the rural population came closer to the typically urban structure (above all, the percentage of cardiovascular diseases increased substantially); alcoholism became somewhat more widespread, etc. Clearly, the conversion of one type of production or another to an intensive development track, involving the excessive utilization of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, mandatorily requires the formulation and implementation of systems of socially compensating and preventive measures which must become a structural component of social planning on all levels.

In this connection, let us consider in greater detail the following aspect: an obvious lagging in the development of theoretical-methodological problems of social planning has become clearly apparent in recent years. This applies, above all, on the sectorial and regional levels. It is true that the November 1983 All-Union Practical Science Conference on Improving Social Planning, held by the USSR AN ISI, USSR Gosplan, USSR State Committee for Labor, the AUCCTU and the Soviet Sociological Association provided a certain impetus to scientific research. As a whole, however, such problems require further expensive studies. One of the vital tasks here is to determine the social standards for a socialist organization of public production, which would take sectorial and regional specifics into consideration, and the formulation of practical recommendations for their advancement and for upgrading labor productivity.

The sociologists must concentrate their efforts above all on ways of achieving a socioproduction situation in the labor collective in which: 1) every participant in the production process would consider himself not only a creator of material goods but also the owner of public means of production, i.e., a subject of social ownership; 2) the worker would be able systematically to influence decision-making; 3) the ability of the working person to be consistent with his job while he himself feels a high degree of satisfaction with his work and living conditions; 4) the very possibility of negligence, irresponsibility and indifference toward socialist property, as well as petty theft, discipline violations, waste, and so on, would be excluded.

Let us note among works on social production reserves and means and methods of their optimal utilization, above all, the study "Socioeconomic Changes in the Nature, Conditions and Content of Labor at the Developed Socialist Stage and Methods of Influencing Them," commissioned by the USSR Gosplan. The institute has already submitted to the client its initial conclusions and recommendations on reducing the number of unskilled manual laborers in material production.

The ISI scientists made a number of studies (in Moscow, Perm and Chuvash ASSR enterprises) on the brigade form of labor organization, dealing with the material and moral incentives in the development of labor activeness, labor activity motivations, the moral-psychological climate in the collectives, etc. The resulting data convincingly prove the great importance of social factors in the application and development of the brigade method. The sociologists' recommendations were concentrated precisely on their maximal application. Similar studies will be continued in accordance with the progressive experience in the work of comprehensive brigades.

As in the past, the study of cadre turnover reasons and conditions will continue to play an important role. The relevance of the problem is confirmed by the following fact alone: every year approximately 25 of the 129 million people employed in the national economy change jobs and 12 percent of those who resign return to their old enterprise. Such changes are detrimental to the interests of society as a whole and the individual workers (4).

In his speech at the 28 May 1984 All-Army Conference of Secretaries of Komsomol Organizations, K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, cited sociological data in naming young workers' dissatisfaction with

the content and conditions of their work as one of the main reasons for cadre turnover (3). The success with which such negative phenomena will be eliminated depends not only on the solution of national economic but also of many social problems affecting the entire employed population, the young people above all. The institute is planning to pay attention to the study of young people and their needs, values, orientations, life priorities and others.

ISI scientists have actively joined in the study of the social aspects of the large-scale economic experiment under way in the country. Such work is being conducted in close cooperation with the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, the AUCCTU Higher School of the Trade Union Movement and a number of academic institutes in Moscow, the Ukraine and Lithuania. A pilot project was carried out at the Kaluga Machine-Building Plant of the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, preliminary to a large-scale research project which has reached its main stage at the present time.

The study of sociodemographic problems and of characteristics of the present demographic situation in the country and its development trends through the year 2000 plays a major role in the institute's activities. A general concept of its dynamics along three basic lines has been formulated: population stabilization, mobility and acclimatization; the targets and tasks of migration policy in territories with low mobility yet rapidly expanding populations were substantiated.

Based on study results, scientific papers were drafted on the objectives of migration policy and means of upgrading the mobility of the native population in the southern part of the country and trends and territorial features of the USSR's birthrate. The main conclusions and proposals of the reports were taken as a base for currently implemented measures.

For the first time in ISI work an expedition was organized to areas inhabited by small northern nations. The sociologists studied the way of life of the native population. Based on a scientific report submitted by the institute on the development of the nonproduction sphere in areas inhabited by native ethnic groups in the north, a number of RSFSR ministries made corresponding decisions.

The ISI personnel pay constant attention to the study of family relations. International studies on "Family and Social Structure" and "Changes in Family Forms in Europe" are nearing their end; work has begun on "The Young Family," which includes aspects such as the role of the family in the prevention of alcoholism, family leisure time requirements, women's professional work and motherhood and efficiency of social aid to the family. An annotated bibliography of publications on family sociology for the past 15 years was prepared for publication. It will be of major scientific importance in coordinating research in this area.

As we know, the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum called for the creation of a unified, dynamic and effective counterpropaganda system (1, p 195). This presents sociologists with an extensive field of work. The institute's scientists are working on three basic lines: 1) methodological and methodical

problems of the use of sociology in counterpropaganda; 2) sociological research findings; 3) drafting monographs, pamphlets and articles of a counterpropaganda nature for publication in the USSR and abroad.

Particular attention was paid to supplying party bodies with information on means and channels through which imperialist propaganda is trying to influence the different sociodemographic population groups and the degree of readiness of the ideological aktiv to expose such attempts and to engage in aggressive and well-substantiated counterpropaganda in the conduct of sociological research. The data obtained by the institute's scientists were extensively used in preparations of meetings and practical science conferences on counterpropaganda problems held in various parts of the country. Thus, on the basis of results of sociological studies conducted in several RSFSR oblasts, pertinent data were supplied to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium reflecting the public opinion of Soviet people on problems of human rights and freedoms; several monographs of a counterpropaganda nature were published as well (5).

The study of the topical problems of social development of Soviet society was conducted in close unity with the elaboration of methodological and methodical problems and the history of Marxist-Leninist sociology, along with criticism of bourgeois sociology. Prime attention was paid here to the interconnection between sociology and historical materialism and scientific communism, and the development and systematizing of its categorial apparatus and structural refinement. The results of said studies were reflected somewhat in the second edition of the "Sociologists' Work Book," which includes the experience and achievements of Soviet sociology in the 7 years following the first edition. Several important theoretical and methodical problems were discussed in the monograph "Typology and Classification in Sociological Research" and in several topic collections. However, we must point out that theoretical-methodological developments still do not fully reach the high scientific standard needed in the study of one social process or another or the substantiation of practical recommendations.

ISI publishing activities have expanded significantly of late. Works which could be used as textbooks are being written by the institute's collective in connection with the introduction of higher sociological training in the country. Steps have been taken by the Scientific Council and ISO editors to upgrade strictness toward authors, editors and reviewers. Whenever a manuscript is returned by Izdatel'stvo Nauka with serious remarks, it is closely discussed by the Scientific Council and the management. Quality improvements and enhanced scientific work standards contributed to broadening the RISO membership and the involvement of a broad range of specialists from various sociological areas.

"Scientific developments," the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum decree pointed out, "must develop into practical recommendations and provide substantiated social forecasts" (1, p 191). The implementation of this requirement presumes the fastest possible solution of a number of methodical and organizational problems. What concerns us most in this respect? Above all, the clearly inadequate level of application of study results. The reasons for this are several. Relations between customer and performing worker have not

been organized. Even should they sign a formal contract, as a rule it fails to include specific items regulating the activities of the customer relative to using the results of the work done by the sociologists. Practical recommendations are very similar to a managerial decision: the purpose of both is to achieve some specific changes in the situation. However, whereas a management decision is mandatory and must be taken into consideration by managers on different levels, not to mention performers, recommendations stemming from sociological research may be forgotten quickly and with impunity. Consequently, some official guarantees of their utilization are necessary. However, matters do not end there. The effectiveness of relations between scientists and customers, particularly at the stage of the elaboration of practical recommendations, greatly depends on the depth of their sociological thinking, closely related to economics, the role of which was emphasized at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

As confirmed by practical experience, including sociologists in the scientific councils of ministries and departments is very useful in this connection. For example, participation in the activities of such a council under the USSR State Committee for Labor helps the social scientists to clarify the most important and topical problems on which the committee's leadership is working and to provide scientific assistance in resolving them. Obviously, including practical workers in the institute's scientific council would be no less effective.

The quality of many sociological recommendations still leaves something to be desired. The main shortcomings here are the superficial, abstract and occasionally simply trite nature of conclusions, the absence of computations, deadlines and anticipated results and the insufficient consideration of the actual economic, financial and cadre possibilities of a given enterprise or region. This is largely due to the fact that the necessary interaction with party, soviet and economic organs and specialists in other fields of knowledge has not been achieved at the state of recommendation drafting. Naturally, the practical significance of the recommendations is largely determined by the level of development of sociology and its methodical set of tools. Today not all parts of this science have been developed to the same extent. In relatively independent sectors, such as labor sociology, mass information media, education, town, country, family, youth, etc., substantial results and research experience have been acquired and major conclusions and concepts relative to resolving "subordinate" problems have been formulated. Nevertheless, the practical potential of a number of sociological sections is still clearly inadequate.

Finally, the nature of the recommendations is also affected by the insufficient professional competence of the scientists who undertake the study of one social problem or another. All of this leads to numerous errors in the various stages of a sociological study: reduced accuracy and reliability of data (caused by method errors) and misinterpretations and erroneous conclusions relative to cause and effect relations. We believe that, together with the SSA [Soviet Sociological Association] the ISI should organize expert evaluations, dealing primarily with research methodology.

To sum up the views on acting on recommendations, the following basic elements or stages could be singled out: 1) assessing the possibility of application (economic, organizational, cadre, etc.); 2) choice of optimal variant; 3) formulating an application plan-program; 4) its testing on a local scale; 5) full implementation of the program; 6) assessing the effectiveness of the measures implemented; 7) correcting the recommendations themselves.

Naturally, this structure is quite arbitrary. However, the methodical approach it contains could be used as a base. A well-organized social experiment should play an important role in developing and perfecting the application cycle. Of late said problems have been actively discussed by the SSA presidium and have also been the subject of attention in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, on the activities of which we greatly rely in our hopes for upgrading practical returns from sociological studies.

Studies assigned by ministries and departments are also contributing to the intensification of the practical significance of the social sciences. As the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Upgrading the Role of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics in Developing the Central Problems of the Economic Theory of Developed Socialism" notes, such practices should be expanded (2). Presently the ISI has initial contracts for creative cooperation with more than 50 organizations, departments and enterprises. They include the ministries of shipbuilding industry and maritime fleet, the Komsomol Central Committee Higher Komsomol School Scientific Research Center, the USSR AN INION [Institute of Scientific Information for the Social Sciences], a number of major scientific centers and others. An ongoing study of public opinion is being made together with the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. Similar contracts were recently signed by the institute with IZVESTIYA and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA.

The methodical aid which the ISI gives to other sociological centers has been increased. Standard research programs and methods and programs for processing primary sociological data have been developed. Increased attention is paid and support given to plant sociologists. The institute has set up a center for training such sociologists for Moscow and Moscow Oblast. The first student class graduated in May 1984.

However, the institute's collective is still resolving problems of coordinating scientific research throughout the country without the required persistence. Formalism in planning scientific work, petty topics and predilection for one-time studies, which prevent drawing major conclusions and summations, have not been eliminated.

ISI scientists and specialists must work extensively to implement projects such as "The Social Sphere: Development Indicators and Trends" and "Sociological Problems of the Study and Molding of Public Opinion," earmarked for the 12th Five-Year Plan. It is precisely on the basis of the data acquired from such studies that systematic information of directive-issuing bodies must be organized on the condition and trends in the social development of our society and the formulation of large-scale suggestions aimed at its improvement. Said topics must play an important role in improving social statistics and drafting fundamental sociological works.

The institute has taken its initial steps in restructuring its scientific research activities. Its collective, which has joined the socialist competition in honor of the 27th CPSU Congress, will increase its efforts for the implementation of its tasks.

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SOCIAL INDICATORS OF POPULATION'S HEALTH

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[Article by Igor' Vasil'yevich Bestuzhev-Lada, doctor of historical sciences, professor, head of the department of social processes management problems, USSR AN ISI and author of a number of monographs on the history and theory of social forecasting, including: "Okno v Budushcheye" [Window to the Future] (1970), "Poiskovoye Sotsial'noye Prognozirovaniye" [Social Forecasting Research] and others. Author of a number of articles published in our journal]

[Text] Soviet sociology has acquired considerable experience in systematizing the social consequences of the development of Soviet society (2). As the most important tool of social policy, such indicators largely determine the efficiency of planned measures and guidelines for the future. The development of indicators requires the integrated efforts of representatives of different disciplines and the accelerated development of intersecting scientific areas. This particularly applies to population health indicators. The June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum noted that health care problems will be assuming an increasing role in the party's social policy. The democratic nature of our free health care, the first such system in the world, is universally known. However, its quality level is by no means always consistent with the requirements of developed socialism. This has been frequently pointed out in party resolutions passed in recent years. However, substantial efforts must be made to implement them (1).

Structuring a social indicator system for the population's health presumes the formulation of three interrelated problems: What are the heuristic possibilities of the indicators as means of measurement and identification? What is the inner structure of the system of health care indicators? And what are the long-range social problems which determine the system's trend? These are the problems which will be considered in this article.

Heuristic possibilities of indicators. Studies conducted over a long period have determined that to a no lesser extent and, in some matters, even more than the economic or scientific and technical, social indicators can contribute to enhancing the scientific standard of forecasting, target setting,

planning, programming (pre- and postplan) and managing social processes as a whole. In this sense, it would be hard to overestimate the importance of a high quality efficient social indicator system.

Some understanding has been gained of the nature and structure of a complex idealized object such as an indicator, in the course of theoretical developments. We should not ignore the fact that this concept is accompanied by several related ones (indicator, characteristic, parameter, variable, etc.) and that concepts may be interpreted differently. Discussions on this matter are continuing. Generally speaking, however, a constructive concept has been formulated, which enables us to use the theory of social indicators in management practice.

According to this concept, the indicator is a special tool used in measuring the social phenomena and processes. It consists of two parts: the object (indicatum) and the indicator.

Like other idealized objects, indicators may be classified according to a variety of criteria. The most important one, however, the one of key significance in the management of social processes, is the assessment of indicators based on the degree of their informativeness, i.e., the meaningfulness of the conclusions which may be drawn on their basis. It was found out in the study of applied indicator systems that those which are predominantly used are simple and easy yet underinformative. Thus, in one of the information arrays we studied, which included several dozen indicator systems of the way of life of society, nearly nine-tenths belong to the three least informative types (simple absolute and relative numerical types or even simple percentages), whereas the percentage of the most informative indicators (standardizing, balance, correlation, etc.) accounted for a few percentiles (3). Hence the important task of improving indicator systems: upgrading the share of highly informative indicators while lowering the labor-intensiveness they require.

The indexing process of social phenomena and processes, i.e., the presentation of the latter as a streamlined combination (system) of indicators, has been thoroughly developed as well. Here the structural analysis of the indication object and the structuring of indicator blocks play a key role. This method greatly enhances the representativeness and the streamlining of indicator systems and enables us to encompass the most important aspects of the object under study.

The development of means for the quantitative assessment of qualitative conditions of management objects provides new and expanded possibilities for the use of indicators. In particular, this applies to the technique of the so-called qualimetry (4). Qualimetric methods enable us, in our view, to surmount the simplistic approach to assessing the quality of health care, education, environment, way of life, etc., expressed exclusively in terms such as "worse" or "better." They enable us to assess qualitative conditions on the basis of specially drawn-up scales of quantitative values.*

* We must point out that recurrences of a simplistic approach are, unfortunately, still encountered in literature (see for example (5)).

It is entirely obviously that the number of indicators should be minimal. Nevertheless, we must take into consideration that any excessive narrowing of the range of indicators drastically lowers the representative nature of the indicator system and is fraught with erroneous one-sided concepts of the target. Conversely, a large number of indicators hinders their interpretation and makes indications ineffective, for what is lost is the main thing: the possibility of "identifying" the object of the indicator and its comparison within the context of a temporal or spatial sequence. Consequently, the necessary optimum is in the range of several tenths of indicators. The closer we come to the optimum, the more effective the indicator system becomes.

But how are we to apply indicators in the case of complex social phenomena, such as the population's health? In this respect, the most constructive is the idea of using the principle of the "indicator tree" in the case of complex targets: general indicators are selected on the level of the most general characterization of the target; this is followed by identifying each one of the structural components and so on, on several levels. The result is a streamlined indicator system.

A debatable problem which remains is that of the possibility of describing complex social objects with a single indicator (a general indicator, for example). Ideally, it should contain extremely concentrated data for purposes of evaluation and decision-making. On the other hand, however, even the slightest inadequacy of the indicator in terms of the target may lead to an erroneous assessment and a nonoptimal decision. The assumption is that wherever an indicator which can provide objective and effective information has been determined empirically, from the viewpoint of the research task and management evaluation, such an indicator is admissible. If no guarantee of objectivity exists, the structuring of such an indicator should be approached with extreme caution and no haste should be shown in using it in management practices until all possible negative consequences of such an innovation have been thoroughly considered. Actually, this remark applies to any indicator used as a planning and management tool. We know that the assessment of enterprise, establishment and organization activities is related almost entirely precisely through indicators. That is why any shortcut in indicator systems adversely affects the entire public production system. If tonnage is the indicator, even the most lightweight objects are beginning to be rated in tons; if the indicator is rubles, inexpensive items become more expensive; the notorious "grade percentage" leads to "percentage mania"; the number of examined patients or received customers, used as an indicator, leads to extremely high numbers although the quality of services drops, and so on. In the field of social relations, the result of such shortcuts is particularly painful. That is precisely why the key to the solution of this problem is the strictly scientific substantiation of social indicator systems.

Indicators of social health care aspects. Let us try, above all, to make a distinction between the social indicators of the population's health and the medical indicators (sociohygienic included), on the one hand, and the economic indicators, on the other. In the first case, priority is given to the indicators of the functioning and development of medical institutions and medical services, from the "technological" viewpoint, so to say: how to heal the

people better. In the second case, priority is given to sectorial efficiency indicators: outlays and work results. We are interested in the third side of the matter: How are social problems related to strengthening the population's health resolved. Obviously, no rigid partitions exist. One and the same indicator may be interpreted in a variety of aspects. It is also obvious, however, that the indicator system must be problem-oriented.

Traditionally, health care is reflected through the following indicator blocks: organization of health care, morbidity, medical cadres, sanitary-epidemiological service, hospital aid, outpatient-polyclinic aid, sanatorium-resort treatment, treatment-prophylactic aid to women and children, pharmaceutical services and international cooperation in health care (6). Statistical reports on the development of Soviet health care have a similar structure. This provides a certain idea of the "technical" aspect of the matter and the health care system as such.

The economic health care development indicators are substantially different. They may be judged, for example, on the basis of "The USSR National Economy" statistical yearbook: number of medical institutions and availability of hospital beds for the population, medical personnel, morbidity rate for individual contagious diseases, process of medical outpatient services to the population and services to women and children and pregnant women and women in childbirth (7). Critical remarks may be made of the completeness or structure of this indicator system. Unquestionably, however, it helps us to trace the economic efficiency of the sector.

This brief survey shows that the sociological problems covered with available indicator systems are by no means complete. In what way do social indicators of the population's health coincide with or are distinct from medical and economic indicators? Do we need additional indicators to cover corresponding structural targets of the health care system? Let us try to answer these questions.

To begin with, from the viewpoint of sociological problems, the block of "morbidity" indicators not only retains its significance but should be expanded considerably. Indicators of contagious disease morbidity are of unquestionable social importance, although significant progress has been achieved in the struggle against epidemics. The relevance of cardiovascular, cancer and neuropsychic morbidity has increased sharply. As we become more successful in the struggle against contagious diseases and as the average life span increases, the latter types of pathological states increasingly assume priority. At the beginning of the 1980s diseases affecting the blood circulation organs assumed a leading position: they account for more than one-half of all the causes of death in our country. About 14 percent of lethal outcomes are related to malignant tumors (142,100 in 1981) (8). Combined cardiovascular, cancer and nerve-mental diseases account for more than two-thirds of premature deaths. Each of the most widespread diseases of this kind (cardiosclerosis, stroke, hypertonia, infarct, cancer of the stomach or the lungs) in the developed countries greatly exceeds in terms of scale all types of infections combined. Thus, in the United States in 1978 8.5 women and 8.6 men per 1,000 births died of infectious diseases: respective deaths caused by

diseases of the blood circulation system were 596.3 and 517.8; malignant tumors: 181.8 and 294.2; diseases of the respiratory organs: 56.2 and 76.7, etc. (8, p 136).

The problem of transportation, industrial and domestic traumas becomes highly topical, in addition to morbidity. Thus, in the United States, in 1978-1979, 36.7 women and 77.6 men per 1,000 births or 72.1 per 100,000 population died from accidents and traumas--nearly tenfold more than from contagious-parasitical diseases (8.3) (ibid.).

Finally, closely related to such indicator blocks are consequences of alcohol and nicotine abuse, and the mental retardation of a certain segment of the population. Let us recall that according to the World Health Organization, mental retardation is a major problem throughout the world: 3 percent of all children are born with mental defects and about 10 percent suffer from borderline forms of intellectual insufficiency (9).

Secondly, the "population medical services" indicator block has its own essential characteristics. First among them are no longer "treatment technology" or the effectiveness of the "outlay-output" model but the "patient-medical worker," "medical worker-medical worker" and "patient-friends and relatives" ratios. The development of the social evaluations of such health care aspects presumes the existence of accurate information on the availability of higher (physician) and secondary (nurse) personnel and paramedical workers (practical nurses-dry nurses, the shortage of which is growing). Exceptionally important on the social level is information not only on the number and structure of medical institutions or availability of hospital beds, etc.--although this too is important--but also the efficiency of their work. At this point, however, we cannot do without indicators of the meaningfulness of the work of the medical personnel on all three levels, their satisfaction with their jobs and objective assessments of the quality of medical services. Equally important is information on subjective (not to be confused with subjectivistic!) assessments of the activities of the health care system by the population. Work with such indicators is particularly labor-intensive. In the final account, however, the purpose of the health care system is to serve the population and not vice versa. Therefore, the voice of public opinion, the role of which is rising in the management of socialist society, should be heard by the health care workers as well.

The third block of social indicators is that of the various health care subsystems. This includes indicators of availability of medicines and treatment procedures, sanatorium-resort services, use of the achievements of folk medicine, the general condition of sanitation and hygiene in the area, the level of population medical literacy, etc.

The fourth indicator block should reflect the social consequences of comprehensive mechanization, automation and cybernetization of health care. This applies to diagnostic and procedural complexes in which automation and electronics are being rapidly introduced. This does not lower the role of the medical personnel but, conversely, enhances its responsibility for the quality of treatment. Obviously, this involves forecasts of profound changes in the

"patients-medical workers," "medical worker-medical worker" and "patient-relatives and friends" relationship. Negative consequences should not be excluded in such changes.

The fifth and special block is that of outpatient treatment indicators. As we know, the task of providing universal population outpatient treatment has been formulated in our country. This will be an important stage in perfecting social policy. Currently 58 million people (out of a population of 275 million as of 1 July 1984) are subject to outpatient care. This includes pregnant women, athletes, workers performing particularly difficult or harmful work, and a number of other population categories. Furthermore, another 118 million people underwent a preventive health examination in 1983. However, for years on end about 25 percent of the population are not examined at all. The task is at least to double the volume of preventive examinations as an essential step toward universal outpatient population care (10). Obviously, this process must mandatorily be reflected in a corresponding indicator system.

The system of social indicators of population health cannot be considered full without a consideration of interacting related systems. This applies, above all, to the indicators of the population's physical standards, in both the narrow (including sports and hiking) and the broad meaning of the terms: standards of nutrition, clothing, housing, intercourse, etc.). Equally important are the demographic, ecological and population activeness and material well-being indicators. Sociologists and health care organization specialists are confronted with extensive scientific-theoretical work on combining such indicator systems within a hierarchical target model in which population health indicators would be basic and determining, while the others would be used for auxiliary and background purposes. This should result in resolving a problem of exceptional practical importance: the creation of a substantiated draft system for monitoring the population's health. For purposes of analogy let us refer to already extant systems for monitoring the condition of the environment. In our view, major steps in this direction could be taken during the very next 5-year period.

As we mentioned, the formulation of indicator systems is not a self-seeking purpose but a means of effective solution of practical social management problems. The systematizing of problems in Soviet society (11) enables us more closely to link population health indicators with social development prospects.

Population health indicators in the context of long-range social problems. Unlike the other areas of societal way of life, health care has a reliable general indicator which can characterize quite adequately the population's health condition: the average life span. Its values are well-known: 32 years in 1896 and 70 in 1984, including more than 65 years for men and nearly 75 years for women (6, p 271; 8, pp 125, 129). The fact that in less than 90 years the life span has doubled is clear proof of the successes achieved by Soviet health care and the increased level of well-being and standards of the Soviet people. This is an achievement to be proud of.

However, a comparative study indicates that the level reached in the average life span is still far from a realistic optimum. Furthermore, we can not fail to be concerned by the significant gap between the life span of men and women. The reasons for the slow growth of the life span include abuse of alcohol and nicotine, a sedentary way of life (hypodynamia), insufficiently high nutritional standards (overeating) intercourse (stress), work and living conditions (accidents, vocational illnesses, unsatisfactory sanitary and hygienic conditions). Let us emphasize that causes which were typical in the past (epidemics) are no longer determining. The enumerated factors apply to a far greater extent to men compared to women which, in our view, explains said gap.

In order to resolve such social problems efficiently, we need a scientific system of purposeful measures. The "tree of social health indicators" of the population, the "crown" of which would be the average life span, while the subsequent levels would be the corresponding auxiliary and background indicators, could be of great help in their formulation and implementation.

In building the "tree of social health indicators" of the population, we must take into consideration that thanks to successes achieved in the area of health care in the developed countries, an unprecedented situation in the history of humankind has developed in a historically relatively short time. For millenia natural selection acted blindly in governing the existence of homo sapiens. Most people lost their lives before reaching marital age: only the healthiest survived and transmitted their genetic stock to their offspring (although they too were not spared by epidemics and wars). Furthermore, virtually every person, with the exception of an insignificant minority, led an active way of life, engaged in hard physical labor, breathing clean air and eating natural food. Furthermore, the life of the person usually took place strictly in accordance with existing traditions, mores and customs, which developed durable intercourse stereotypes. This controlled the stress level. The result was homeostasis--a certain balance between the high mortality level and the equally high level of resistance to diseases.

In no more than a few decades, a mass conversion from traditional rural to contemporary urban ways of life took place in the developed countries. The living conditions of the overwhelming majority of the population changed radically. In young families in such countries, as a rule women give birth once, less frequently twice and very rarely three or more times. We entrusted the entire "work" of natural selection to medicine, assuming a tremendous responsibility for the quality of the population and the viability of future generations, i.e., essentially for mankind's future. Adding to this alcohol and nicotine abuse, pampering, low mobility, overeating and stress, naturally, the results are alarming. Combined, on the one hand, all of this disturbs the defensive systems in the human body, lowering its resistance to diseases; on the other, it changes the conditions governing the existence of the microflora, in the course of which some bacteria adapt well even to medicinal drugs used against them.

Naturally, this does not mean any idealizing of the traditional rural way of life or questioning the obviously progressive nature of urbanization. Suffice it to remember the price which humankind had to pay for a traditional way of

life, such as the tremendously high mortality rate, infantile mortality in particular, to realize that the call occasionally heard in the West of "back to nature!" is totally groundless. The question lies elsewhere. Since man has assumed responsibility for the health of present and future generations, he needs a scientific system of measures in order to achieve this objective, in turn based on a sufficiently effective system of indicators. Since the level of coexistence between the human macroworld and the bacterial microworld has changed considerably, we must closely watch the state of affairs at the front of the struggle against infectious diseases, however inspiring current successes may seem to us. Since overeating and sedentariness are becoming a true scourge of middle-aged and adult people in the developed countries, promotion of proper nutrition and a healthy way of life must be backed by a scientific system of steps relying on a respective indicator system. Nor does active struggle against alcoholism and smoking brook delay.

There is great need for sociomedical indicators aimed at use in mass propaganda. Let us cite a typical example. UN experts have estimated that every time a cigarette is smoked the life of the smoker is prematurely shortened by 5.5 minutes. This indicator has hardly any value in terms of management practice. As part of a mass information system, for example, in addition to other antismoking propaganda measures (such as a visual demonstration of the final stage of lung cancer, which is the usual fate of an inveterate smoker) it has played its role: in Western countries the tobacco consumption curve among adult and elderly men dropped sharply and had it not been for increased smoking among young people, young women in particular (to whom, as we know, a cigarette is one of the "ways" of expressing misunderstood self-assertion), tobacco monopoly profits would have been threatened. Let us emphasize that an indicator properly addressed at a specific audience can fulfill its role quite efficiently.

The press has repeatedly emphasized the relevance of the struggle against alcohol abuse and has cited examples of positive results of energetic actions taken on the initiative of local soviets and labor collectives (12). Scientists have made a detailed study of this problem situation and formulated detailed recommendations for its resolution. The next step is the creation of a scientific system of steps based on reliable social indicators.

Let us particularly consider indicators of transportation, industrial and household accidents. According to Soviet and foreign press data, their scale is quite significant. Suffice it to say that every year some 250,000 people die and 10 million are hospitalized as a result of automobile accidents alone. In the United States, more than 50,000 people die and as many as 2.5 million are hospitalized as a result of traffic accidents; another 15,000 die from accidents at work and as many from various types of poisoning. Let us add to this the tens of thousands of people who die as a result of fires, lightning, or accidents in handling fire weapons (13). Therefore, we are faced with three additional situations: in transportation, at work and at home, which is yet another area to be monitored on the basis of indicator systems.

The Soviet Union has substantially outstripped the worldwide level of the number of physicians per 10,000 population in the area of medical services: there were 39.5 as compared to 23.3 in the United States in 1982. Today there are more than 1 million physicians in the USSR, or more than one-third of all physicians on earth (7, p 84). Obviously, any further extensive increases in the number of physicians is no longer sufficient. Health care, like other public production sectors, must convert to intensive development. This means that the indicators of the working conditions of physicians and their returns must be substantially improved. The way to achieve this remains to be studied, starting with the elaboration of an indicator system. For the time being, it is clear that all diagnostic and procedural operations which could be performed by means of technology should be removed from the duties of the physician. Nor should the physician perform the duties of secondary and lower medical personnel as is frequently the case today. The optimal division of labor among medical personnel should be codified on the basis of a corresponding indicator system.

A similar situation has developed in the organization of treatment. Thus, here again the USSR is in the leading position in the world in the number of hospital beds per 10,000 population: 127 as against 60 in the United States (7, pp 84-85). A new and more difficult problem arises, that of the intensive and efficient utilization of existing material facilities, governed by a specially formulated system of indicators.

The June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum especially pointed out the fact that health care problems have assumed and will unquestionably assume an even greater place in the party's social policy. The democratic nature of the Soviet health care system and its achievements over the past decades are well known. However, as was emphasized at the plenum, the quality standard is still by no means always consistent with the requirements of our time. In order successfully to implement the corresponding party decisions made in recent years, major, including scientific, efforts must be made (1). From this viewpoint, the theoretical problems related to population health indicators are extremely topical.

We already emphasized that it is inadmissible to consider the social population health indicators separately from interacting related indicator systems. It is a question of the active continuation of research in the area of social indicators of the way of life of Soviet society. Health care is not an isolated subsystem of the social organism, and its social indicators are essentially part of the "social problems tree" in the contemporary stage of building socialism. Ensuring the efficiency and quality of medical services to the population requires the integrated efforts of representatives of the natural, social and technological sciences.

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EDUCATIONAL REFORM, SOCIAL REQUIREMENTS AND YOUTH

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[Text] Achieving a level of universal full secondary education of the young generation in our country, which had one of the lowest rates in Europe at the turn of the century in terms of population literacy, is one of the greatest accomplishments of socialism and one of the proofs of its maturity. Life, however, does not stand still. The condition which had developed in the public education system at the beginning of the 1980s was no longer fully satisfying the needs of society for the education and upbringing of young people preparing for and entering life. "In order for Soviet society to move ahead confidently toward our great objectives," Comrade K. U. Chernenko said at the April 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "each new generation must reach a higher level of education and general culture, professional skill and civic activeness. This, one can say, is a law of social progress (1, p 16).

The USSR Supreme Soviet decree "On Basic Directions in the Reform of General Education and Professional Schools," which was passed on 12 April 1984 in accordance with the CPSU Central Committee Plenum resolutions, is a long-term work program not only for departments directly in charge of general education, professional, secondary specialized and higher schools, but for all state and party bodies as well. The implementation of the tremendous plan for the reorganization of the public education system is a truly national project in which socialist democracy and the practical activities of the masses and their elective authorities acquire a broadest possible field of action in the search for the most efficient solutions consistent with the spirit of the reform and

local conditions. This precisely is the way the party formulates the problem: "The school reform is not a one-time measure. It is not a matter merely of the fact that it will take two five-year periods. One cannot prescribe everything in advance when it is a question of living people, and even more so children. Unquestionably, practice will introduce amendments to some of our intentions and plans. This should not be feared" (1, p 17).

The implementation of the reform in education assigns great responsibility to Soviet social science, including sociology. Let us point out that over the past 20 years certain traditions were established in Soviet sociology in the study of educational problems and, particularly, the life plans of young people, their social and professional orientation, the correlation between such plans and the possibilities and requirements of the educational system and, in the final account, the requirements of social progress. The implementation of the reform will require the further and even more extensive development and intensification of sociological studies of youth and education problems. It is precisely sociology which could and should help to optimize the realistic separation of the flows of school graduates among professional schools and make an efficient study of the influence which the steps taken in the course of the reform have on the feelings of boys and girls, their value system and labor training results.

The specific sociological studies conducted in the country in accordance with regional, national and age group features of youth groups, types of schools and economic sectors in which adolescents begin their work could provide actual and truly priceless assistance to management bodies in the implementation of the objectives of the reform and surmounting the numerous difficulties which have appeared and which will inevitably appear along this way. The source of such difficulties could be quite clearly indicated as of now. In our view, it is the power of inertia, which is inherent in any organization created by society, and has its internal structure and relatively independent development.

What we mean by surmounting inertia is making substantial changes in the existing ratios among the types of schools and the forms of training they provide, a revision of curriculum structures and eliminating the now-traditional ways and methods of training which have developed in young people with a socioprofessional orientation. The problem of surmounting said inertia and, therefore, the shortcomings which have become rooted in the educational system, may be approached from a variety of angles. We shall approach it here from the positions of Marxist theoretical sociology. This presumes the use for analytical purposes of the sum total of empirical state statistical data accumulated over a long period of time and their substantial complement of sociological studies.

The question raised in this article of the consistency between the career plans of young people and their sociovocational orientation or, in other words, of the subjective factor which changes with the needs of society, i.e., a factor which is objective by its very nature is part of general theoretical Marxist sociology--historical materialism. Hence, in considering the correlation among such factors, our main attention should be focused on

the dialectics of their interaction, mediated, among others, by the educational system and, secondly, the fact that looking at the future and considering future prospects necessarily presume a historical approach and, also perhaps a retrospective glance.

Let us begin by saying a few words on the way the objective and subjective factors, the demarcation line between which is, naturally, not absolute, "appear" in this specific sociological area.

The requirements of society's economic and social development are determined by the development of the country's production forces and socialist production relations. They are materialized not only in technology or, in general, in the material area, but also in the people, in their ability to work with a given technical production base, to master new equipment and to develop it under the existing labor division and distribution. This, consequently, is an objective factor. Under the conditions of the further development of the scientific and technical revolution, said ability to work requires universal secondary (general educational) to be followed by vocational training. Both are provided by the general and vocational education systems. The latter is a subjective-objective factor. Since it is created and perfected by the state, it depends on the will of the people and acts as a structural component of the subjective factor. In terms of the young generation, however, the educational system is an aspect of objectively existing external conditions to which young people must adapt their plans. Such plans, orientations and aspirations are, unquestionably, a reflection in the minds of the young people of the totality of conditions governing their existence and operate as a subjective factor.

Such factors are never fully correlated. In the course of their development they may conflict both with the objective requirements of society and with each other.

The common law of social progress we mentioned assumes new features under socialist conditions, two of which should be noted in particular: its accelerated nature, which makes the advantages enjoyed by each new generation visible, noticeable and striking and its systematic nature, i.e., the conscious use by society of the laws governing its own functioning and development.

The increasingly systematic nature in the development of socialism makes the prompt identification and resolution of nonantagonistic contradictions, which are specific for such a society, possible in the interest of the entire society.

The contradictions between the requirements of the socioeconomic development of Soviet society and the educational system and youth guidance developed at the start of the 1980s, could be understood in their full depth and complexity with the adoption of a historical approach. All of them took a long time to mature, starting with the time when Soviet secondary schools were training their students primarily for enrollment in higher schools and thus for strengthening the ranks of the intelligentsia. The disparity between a

stable orientation of the overwhelming majority of secondary school graduates toward entering a VUZ or technicum, supported by the entire school structure, and thus joining the ranks of the intelligentsia, and the needs of society, which require reinforcements of educated young people belonging to all social groups, the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry above all, increased gradually.

The 1958 school reform was an initial attempt to resolve this contradiction. Certain positive changes were accomplished. However, an overall assessment of the results of the 1958 school reform would force us to acknowledge that it failed to achieve its objectives. Why?

To begin with, it was assumed that the majority of graduates of incomplete secondary schools (which were extended from 7 to 8 years) would immediately begin work in the national economy. However, eighth-grade graduates, i.e., 15-16-year-old adolescents, received no professional training and the network of vocational-technical training schools was insufficiently developed at that time. Major difficulties arose in finding jobs for eighth-grade school graduates. Many economic sectors refused to hire them at all; other sectors could offer them no more than basic vocational training consisting of short courses and individual-brigade apprenticeship. Willy-nilly many adolescents had to take unskilled jobs, demand for which was quite substantial. The desire to enroll in the ninth grade, so that 3 years later (the length of schooling was extended from 10 to 11 years) they would acquire full secondary education and broader opportunities for a career naturally began to predominate. An important factor which encouraged the desire to continue with one's education by attending the ninth to 11th grades was the increased material well-being of the working people, which allowed the overwhelming majority of families to support their children to the ages of 17 or 18.

Secondly, it was assumed that in the ninth to 11th grades, full secondary education would be combined with training in mass skills. However, assisted by sponsoring enterprises and local soviet bodies, such schools could offer the students a rather modest choice of skills (fitter, seamstress, etc.). As a result, most 11th-grade school graduates did not look for jobs consistent with the skill they had acquired at school, the more so since such skill rarely proved to be above the first or second-grade level. Many among those who began to work in their profession (such as, for example, those who had failed in their first attempt to enroll in a VUZ) switched jobs soon afterwards.

That is why the intent of the 1958 reform of combining general secondary education with professional training failed to attain its objective in the way in which it was set. The efforts to combine these functions within the general education school did not justify at that time the funds spent in reorganizing the school and the training process. Nor was the task of reinforcing the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry with professionally trained replacements implemented. Furthermore, the reform resulted in a certain drop in the level of the general education of secondary school graduates.

Disparities between the needs of society and the results of the educational system intensified in the 1970s. Teaching the foundations of the sciences remained the focal point of attention of teaching staffs in general education schools. However, the lack of clear practical labor orientation in training and upbringing, formalism in assessing the results of school and teacher work ("percentage mania") and reduced requirements toward the students lowered the quality of knowledge. As to labor training, in the overwhelming majority of schools it was inadequately organized and its role was diminished.

Generally speaking, the breakdown of school graduates was as follows: more than one-half of eighth-grade graduates enrolled in the ninth grade with a view to obtaining full secondary education in a simple and accessible manner which, furthermore, did not demand of 15-year-old adolescents and their parents the need to make very important decisions on the choice of a career. The steadily growing share of eighth-grade graduates began to be absorbed by the rapidly developing vocational-technical training system; a relatively small yet quite stable share of graduates of incomplete secondary schools continued their training in secondary specialized schools.

As to 10th-grade school graduates, a significant (although substantially lower compared to the 1960s) share remained oriented toward VUZ enrollment.² Toward the end of the 1960s and particularly during the 1970s the disparity between the number of secondary school graduates and enrollment capacity for first-year VUZ students continued to grow.

A total of 1,068,000 students graduated from full (daytime) secondary schools in 1955. At the peak of the school reform (in 1960) the number dropped to 709,000, after which it gradually increased to 913,000 in 1965. The actual termination of the school reform and the successful implementation of the plan for universal secondary education led to a fast increase in the number of secondary school graduates: there were 1,968,000 such graduates of full-time schools in 1970 and 2,716,000 in 1975. The number of graduates of general education school remained roughly on the same level during the 10th Five-Year Plan as well. However, enrollment in full-time VUZ departments did not increase with equal speed in the course of those same 15 years. It increased from 378,400 in 1965 to 639,900 in 1980. Naturally, a simple comparison between these figures would not be entirely proper. We should take into consideration that a considerable percentage of VUZ students (full-time) consists of secondary school graduates with practical work training, including graduates of preparatory departments, and graduates of technicums and secondary PTU [vocational training schools] with excellent marks. However, the ratio between graduates of full-time secondary schools and enrollment in full-time VUZ departments offers a sufficiently accurate idea of the growing gap between the needs of society for the training of higher school specialists and the orientation of young people toward VUZ training. It was 2.4:1 in 1965, 3.9:1 in 1970, 4.6:1 in 1975 and roughly 4.2:1 in 1980³ (5-6).

The transformation of some vocational-technical training schools into secondary PTU in the 1970s marked a substantial step forward in resolving the problem of combining secondary education with vocational training; here eighth-grade graduates acquired a skill and a secondary school diploma in 3 years. In 1982

secondary PTU accepted 860,000 students, i.e., almost two-thirds of the 1,333,000 students who enrolled in the vocational-technical education system on a full-time basis (excluding technical schools) (7).

It may seem that the opening of secondary PTU marked a return to the ideas of the 1958 reform, for they offer both a secondary school diploma and a profession. This, however, is a superficial impression. In the 1950s the ninth grades consisted of graduates of eighth-grade students of the same school and of neighboring schools, i.e., adolescents of the urban microrayon (or rural rayon) whose interests and career plans varied greatly. Vocational training was offered in each school in several mass skills with the help of sponsoring enterprises and was, essentially, no more than an "appendix" to general education training. Today's secondary PTU (as in general the entire network of vocational-technical training schools) are based on an incomparably broader territorial area, such as city or oblast; occasionally, students from distant areas are accepted as well. Above all, enrollment in such schools is based on the voluntary choice of a future profession by secondary school graduates.

What changes have taken place in the actual breakdown of graduates of incomplete and complete secondary schools over a 15-year period (1965-1980)? Tables 1 and 2 provide the answer.⁴

Table 1--Breakdown of Eighth-Grade Graduates,
in thousands and %

Year	Total Eighth- Grade Graduates	Went to Work	Enrolled on a Full-Time Basis		Ninth Grade	Secondary Specialized Schools
			General	PTU Secondary		
1965	3682	1564	454	--	1470	194
%	100	42.5	12.3	--	40	5.2
1975	4951	120	1061	506	3005	259
%	100	2.3	21.4	10.2	60.9	5.2
1980	4149	17	575	801	2500	256
%	100	0.5	13.8	19.3	60.2	6.2

Table 2--Breakdown of 10th-Grade Students,
in thousands and percent

Year	Total Graduates (10th-11th Grade)	Went to Work	Enrolled in Full-Time Departments		
			Technical Schools	Secondary Specialized Schools	VUZs
1965	913	147.6	--	387	378.4
%	100	16.2	--	42.4	41.4
1975	2716	1504.5	353	429.6	428.9
%	100	55.3	12.9	16.0	15.8
1980	2428	1124.2	735	424.3	444.5
%	100	41.2	26.9	15.6	16.3

Table 1 clearly shows that the share of graduates of incomplete secondary schools going to work in the national economy declined sharply from 42.5 percent in 1965 (2.3 percent in 1975) to 0.5 percent in 1980. The previously quite widespread variant of acquiring full secondary education by 15-18-year-olds--work combined with training in the senior grades of evening (shift) schools--dropped to a minimum. However, we must bear in mind that a certain (relatively small) percentage of students, boys in particular, drop out of school after the 9th grade, for an internal passport is issued at the age of 16 and, something equally important, labor legislation allows them to work. They too add to the contingent of evening school students. As a whole, however, this form of education is being reduced quite legitimately.

Thanks to the development of the vocational-technical training system, the percentage of eighth-grade graduates who choose to become members of the working class as a result of PTU training, increased from 12.3 percent in 1965 to 33.1 percent in 1980. In a number of areas however (in Central Asia, for instance), the situation of training workers, particularly among young people belonging to native nationalities, is unsatisfactory. The number of those who continue with their education by enrolling in the ninth grade increased within the period under consideration from 40 percent in 1965 to 60 percent in 1975 and has remained approximately stable. Five to 6 percent of graduates of incomplete secondary schools enrolled in specialized training institutions (technicums, medical schools, etc.). As a whole, this is consistent with social requirements.

Equally substantial changes took place in the breakdown of full secondary school graduates (see Table 2).

As we can see, the number of individuals who acquired a secondary education during the decade increased drastically: from 20 percent of the age group in 1965 to 60 percent in 1980. This means that most young people choose their careers at the age of 17, rather than 15, i.e., with greater awareness. However, the problem of socioprofessional orientation has not abated, for, as in the past, 10th-grade schools do not adequately guide young people toward types of physical labor needed by society. Changes, however, are obvious. Let us note, above all, the growing popularity of technical schools which are training workers in the most complex skills. No such training institutions existed in 1965; one out of eight graduates of full secondary schools enrolled in them in 1975 and one out of four in 1980.

In 1965 no more than 16.2 percent of school graduates went to work immediately after graduation; the figure rose to 55.3 percent in 1975. During the second half of the 1970s and at the beginning of the 1980s the share of this category began to decline, particularly as a result of higher enrollment in technical schools, reaching 41.2 percent in 1980. This corresponds approximately to 1 million boys and girls who receive either a short vocational training or enter the labor market with no training whatsoever.

As to graduates of 10th-grade schools, who aim at joining the ranks of the intelligentsia, in the mid-1960s more than 80 percent of them pursued their training in higher and secondary specialized schools, declining to no more

than one-third in 1975 and 1980. We must also bear in mind that a growing percentage of graduates of full-time technicums come out as highly skilled workers, i.e., they join the ranks of the working class.

Therefore, the question of choosing a profession and the means to acquiring vocational training (along with general secondary education or based on it) is resolved today, as in the past, between the ages of 15 and 17, although somewhat differently from 15 or 25 years ago. As Table 1 shows, 0.5 percent of graduates of incomplete secondary schools went to work in the national economy in 1980. As a rule, 40 percent of 15-year-olds drop out of school for the sake of enrolling in PTU and technical schools; one out of three enroll in PTU of the old (conventional) type, while 60 percent postpone their choice of a profession until their graduation from the 10th grade. As to graduates of full secondary schools (17-18-year-olds), 60 percent of them enroll in technical schools, secondary specialized schools and VUZs, while 40 percent (one-fourth to one-fifth of the entire age group) go to work without acquiring additional training in regular schools. Some of them attend short-term courses or undergo training in training-production enterprise combines; others begin their careers with a worker grade earned in UPK [training-production combines] as ninth- or 10th-grade students, or else in rural school training brigades. Exceptionally valuable is the experience of rural schools, where in violation of regulations, senior classmen are allowed to handle equipment, thus enabling them to get motor vehicle and tractor driver permits, for this is one of the main ways for keeping rural youth in the countryside.

However, we cannot consider it normal for 25 percent of boys and girls to begin their careers every year without thorough professional training at school. The inefficiency of vocational guidance offered in the secondary school grades plays an important role in this respect. Fifty percent of 10th-grade school graduates decide to enroll in VUZs 6 months before the completion of their training, whereas in fact no more than one-sixth of all graduates enroll. The revision of career plans at the age of 17 or 18 is a painful process. Sociological studies have convincingly proved the harm to society and young people of such reorientation.

According to the all-union survey conducted in six parts of the country, in 1973 46 percent of 10th-grade graduates intended to enroll in VUZs (4, p 93). A comparison with actual VUZ enrollment for 1975 (see Table 2) proves that only one out of three graduates enrolled in higher schools; consequently, the other two found jobs not only without any professional training but also without a psychological tuning for the job which they would have to perform at an enterprise, construction project, kolkhoz or office. Indifference to the job and the collective, violations of labor discipline and a long search for a "suitable" job and the corresponding low level of civic maturity cause great harm to a certain youth segment and to society at large. The high indicators of cadre turnover in material production and services is largely based on the "willingness to change jobs" shown by a certain percentage of young people, by no means always coinciding with the interests of society.

The data cited were based on the 1973 study. Certain changes have taken place since that time in the social and vocational orientation of school graduates.

Selective sociological studies conducted in many parts of the country proved that the share of 10th-grade school graduates planning to enter higher schools has been gradually declining. Along with the increased desire on the part of individuals with practical training to enroll in VUZs, this has led to a lesser competitiveness above all for engineering and pedagogical subjects. Not the least important factor in this respect is the lag in wages paid to specialists behind wages of workers engaged primarily in physical work, skilled workers and agricultural mechanizers in particular. Whereas in 1949 the ratio between the average wage of ITR [engineering and technical workers] and the average wage of the worker was 215:100, the figures changed to 112:100 in 1982; in construction the ratio was 242:100 in 1940 and 99:100 in 1981.⁵ We must bear in mind that the statisticians classify as ITR managers of enterprises and structural subunits. As to young engineers, their wages are one-third if not one-half lower than those earned by their coevals--the young skilled workers who spent the years which the future engineer spent in a VUZ to acquire a skill and upgrade their qualifications. This equally applies to teachers, physicians, etc. That is why the substantial increase in the wages of teachers stipulated in the April 1984 CPSU Central Committee decree (1, p 28) met with universal approval.

We cited figures characterizing the situation in the country at large. However, it is quite important to consider the specific features of individual areas, large industrial and cultural centers and small towns and villages. Naturally, the desire (and the opportunity) of young people to enroll in higher schools is higher in Moscow, Leningrad, the capitals of union republics and large cultural centers such as Novosibirsk, Sverdlovsk, Gorkiy, Saratov, Rostov, Kharkov, Odessa and elsewhere. Thus, in Leningrad VUZs there were 2.54 people competing for one vacancy in 1980, 2.48 in 1981, 2.41 in 1982 and 2.40 in 1983. Although this decline is insignificant, it has been quite substantial in smaller VUZ centers, and there has been no need for competition for a number of university departments. Taking into consideration the fact that approximately one out of three secondary school graduates has a failing grade in the first examination, the actual competition is substantially less. In Leningrad alone, last year "the career plans of 35,000 people were wrecked in August, as a result of which they were in a state of total disarray" (8). The city organizations were forced urgently to place thousands of such young people (some out-of-towners return to their homes) at plants, vocational-technical schools, etc. Let us recall that it was precisely in Leningrad that the movement of converting vocational-technical schools into secondary schools originated. In this city all PTU offer both a labor skill and a secondary education diploma. The city party organization has acquired great experience in raising a new worker generation. Thanks to the daily and largely research-oriented work of enterprises, organizations, schools and VUZs, with the participation of party, war and labor veterans, Leningrad became a true laboratory for vocational-technical training. The mass construction of modern and well-equipped vocational-technical training schools has been undertaken in the city. It is no accident that every year some 40 percent of eighth-grade graduates enroll in vocational-technical training schools (9) despite a certain opposition on the part of the schools which have become accustomed to "dump" to PTU "passing grade" students and "problem" adolescents. According to A. P. Zav'yalov, secretary of the Kirovskiy party raykom in Leningrad, "not

all teachers have realized as yet that by no means should passing-grade students be directed to PTU" (10).

Enrollment in vocational-technical schools is a more complex matter in Moscow. According to a 1981 study, 81.3 percent of surveyed Moscow 10th-grade students were planning on enrolling in higher schools. The actual enrollment was 60 percent (14.6 percent for the country at large and 18.9 percent for the RSFSR) (11). Enrollment in Moscow vocational-technical schools largely consists of students coming from the central oblasts of the RSFSR.

The gravest situation is that of the vocational training of young workers in the Central Asian republics, where the native population has maintained a high birth rate over many years. As a result, every year more young people enter adult life (in terms of share of the population) on an average for the USSR. At the same time, the historically formed lag in the development of the vocational-technical training system has still not been surmounted. Thus, in 1980 the graduation of young workers from PTU per 10,000 population was as follows: the average for the USSR was 92 and for the RSFSR 101, compared to 79 for Uzbekistan, 67 for Turkmenia and 48 for Tajikistan (6, p 375).⁶ That is why some young people of the local ethnic groups go to vocational-technical schools in the RSFSR, the Ukraine and Belorussia. However, the scale of this migration flow is small. Furthermore, many PTU graduates subsequently remain at work in the labor collectives which trained them. This problem can be resolved with the accelerated development of the vocational-training system in these republics and purposeful ideological education work among young people, the rural youth in particular.

The specific features of regions, republics, towns and villages must be and is considered in practical policy. Despite all regional differences, however, the existing system of vocational education which has developed in the USSR has fallen behind practical requirements.

Making substantial changes in the system of general and vocational training proved to be necessary under the conditions of the aggravating demographic situation (in virtually all parts of the country), which has reduced the flow of young people entering the national economy, and bearing in mind the party's long-range course of public production intensification the utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress. That is why the stipulation contained in the "Basic Directions in the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools" met with universal approval: to add universal vocational training to universal secondary education of youth over one or two 5-year period (1, p 26).

Universal vocational education should include the following: 1) training skilled workers within the vocational-technical education system; providing basic vocational training in the 10th and 11th grades of general education schools; training at 1-year departments of secondary vocational-technical schools for increasing or mastering difficult skills; 2) training specialists in VUZs and secondary specialized schools.

The contradictions between the needs of society and the educational system can be resolved by gradually making recruitment by all such types of schools consistent with the needs of the national economy. This is not to say, however, that the contradiction between objective-subjective and subjective factors, i.e., between openings in the educational system and the plans of young people will be resolved automatically. The young people's plans frequently appear spontaneously and a high percentage of them is random. Under socialism, however, this process is controllable. The decisive control factor here is the educational activity of the party, state, Komsomol, trade union, faculty and family, and all progressive forces in society. In order for the socioprofessional orientation of young people to be consistent with the possibilities of the educational system and, subsequently, the objective needs of society, the faster improvements in labor and moral upbringing at school, including the first two stages (first-ninth grade), stipulated by the reform, must be carried out.

Educational activities are inseparable from changes in human living conditions. The problems which arise in connection with the reform of the educational system exceed its limits by a great deal. Thus, organizing the production work of school students alone would require organizing several million work places equipped with modern facilities. The dialectics of the education process and the conditions governing human activities (including those of young people) is such that, on the one hand, condition changes create a base for education as a process of spiritual influence on the individual and, on the other, changes in the moral motivations of the individual, which are a powerful incentive for energizing activities, including labor training of students in general and vocational school students. It is a question of mastering equipment, technical creativity, farming school plots, etc. "Labor education should be considered a most important factor in molding the individual and a means of satisfying the needs of the national economy for manpower," the basic document on the reform of general education and vocational schools stipulates (2).

The implementation of tasks stipulated in the reform, such as doubling the percentage of ninth-grade graduates, who then enroll in secondary vocational-technical schools, and combining vocational training with full secondary education in the 10th and 11th grades are the most complex problems in resolving said contradiction. Sociological studies, which would take into consideration the specific features of the various parts of the country, republics, oblasts, large centers, small towns, villages and settlements, should substantially help the management bodies to resolve the historical problems of perfecting the educational system in the USSR at the mature socialist stage.

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FOOTNOTES

1. For details see (3).
2. On this subject see (4).
3. Author's evaluation.
4. Computed by V. V. Travin.
5. Computed from (7, pp 370-371).
6. Computed by the author.

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ENCOMPASSING THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE REALM OF INFLUENCE OF MASS INFORMATION
MEDIA

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[Article by Oleg Timofeyevich Manayev, candidate of philosophical sciences and senior scientific associate at the Problems Scientific Research Sociological Research Laboratory of the Belorussian State University imeni V. I. Lenin. He is the author of several works on SMI [Mass Information Media] effectiveness. This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] It would be difficult to overestimate the role of the mass information media (SMI) in the spiritual life of contemporary society. For example, more than 200 republic, oblast, city, rayon and enterprise newspapers are published and unionwide publications and some 30 leading newspapers of other union republics are extensively distributed in Belorussia. The population of the BSSR owns about 2.5 million television sets and some 6.5 million radio receivers and relay centers (2, pp 52, 91).

In themselves, however, such indicators do not characterize the effectiveness of the entire information-propaganda process but essentially apply to its precommunication phase, which precedes direct contacts between audiences and SMI. Understandably, cases are possible in which any type of communication, which adequately meets the publisher's targets, prepared on a high journalistic and technical level, are nevertheless not accepted by all audience groups or else the intentions of the publisher and the communicator are not suitably interpreted. Therefore, whenever the consumption and perception of communications with the audience are presented by analogy with their production and distribution "within the system of coordinates" of the communicator, a kind of "optical trick" or illusion appears: influence is assumed as self-evident although it is either absent or is the opposite of the expectations of publishers and communicators.

This raises the question of studying the efficiency of that segment of the mass communication process which begins with the moment the reader, the listener or the viewer has received a specific SMI communication. In our view, the solution of this problem is one of the essential aspects in determining the social efficiency of the process as a whole, for it is only in this case that a mass communication is considered from the viewpoint of information consumption. In other words, the inclusion of the individual in the area of SMI influence becomes a target of research.

A number of researchers have studied this process. However, as B. A. Grushin accurately points out, the sociological mastery of this stage of the information-propaganda process still leaves something to be desired, for "in the majority of cases the latter is considered as something simple and indivisible or, if you wish, merely an act (a series of acts) of interaction between the recipient and the source (less frequently with a group of sources of information)" (3, p 23). In reality, it includes several different types of contacts between the individual and the SMI communication. Grushin, for example, singles out six different types of such contacts (3, p 24). Unquestionably, such breakdowns significantly facilitate the task of the researcher. However, the concept of the step-by-step measurement of the efficiency with which the individual becomes included in the realm of SMI influence nevertheless does not exceed the framework of the mass communication itself. This omission can be surmounted by following two directions: "vertically, in depth," i.e., in other types of social activities of the individual which take place before, at the same time or after a direct perception of an SMI communication; and "horizontally in width," i.e., in the various social groups within which one type or another of the social activity of the individual takes place. The systems analysis of the inclusion of the individual in the realm of SMI influence becomes possible only by intersecting these lines.

Most researchers distinguish between two basic levels of SMI functioning (4). The first studies the implementation of the sociopsychological or psychological functions-objectives related to satisfying the needs of the individual for lifting psychological stress through entertainment, shared experience or intercourse. In this case we evaluate the different effects of the perception of specific SMI communications by the individual. On the second level, the consumer of information is studied not as a specific and unique individual but as a personified social type; the communicator as well is considered not as a specific journalist but as a social institution. It is worth noting that the sociostrategic objectives are obtained by the communicator by modeling social reality in SMI communications through the various characteristics marking their content, and sociopragmatic objectives, through the communicative expression of the selected model, using the various characteristics of their form. The priority given to the social target-functions in the communicator's model is based on the fact that, as V. A. Yadov accurately notes, "although the communicator remains an individual 'for himself,' 'to us' or 'to others' he is not. Within the mass communication system he symbolizes the social institution and is nothing more than one of its functionaries." Conversely, in the model of the expected audience, the priority belongs to the sociopsychological target-functions, for the reader, listener or viewer always remains free in his attitude toward mass communications (5, p 26).

Therefore, the process of including the individual in the area of SMI influence could be presented as the unity between realizing the model of social reality, offered by the communicator, and the one expected by the consumer of the information. Obviously, we can speak of the effectiveness of this process only whenever the mass communicative activity becomes an important and necessary prerequisite for and means of engaging in cognitive, sociopolitical and material-practical activities by the individual.

The fruitfulness of the approach in which the basic types of social activities of the individual, as the subject of the information-propaganda process, is considered through the lens of his mass communicative activities, is pointed out, for example, by the authors of the Taganrog study, one of whose main conclusions/hypotheses is that "the intensiveness itself of the consumption and production of mass information should be considered as an independently extant group-forming features, which establishes sharp differences among the urban population and, obviously, has a certain impact on the behavior of individuals in other areas of social life" (6, p 231).

In our study of the inclusion of the individual in the SMI sphere we used the concept of the dispositional control of the social behavior of the individual, according to which certain dispositions are formed at the intersection of individual requirements of different levels and conditions for their satisfaction: elementary and situational aims; socialized social aims; value orientations; and dominant trend of the individual in one realm of activities or another. Each level of the dispositional structure of the individual has its corresponding level of activities (7, pp 12-32).

The conclusion of the authors of this concept on the regulating functions of the higher dispositions of the individual, according to which "human behavior is not situational but is a trend within which individual actions fluctuate around a certain general 'axis,' formed by superior dispositions or directly coinciding with it" is of essential significance (8, p 192). On this basis, we shall consider the higher dispositions for one type of social activity or another (as an inner aspect of activities) and the result of their implementation (as an external manifestation of activities) as among the most important components of the subsystem of the inclusion of the individual within the realm of SMI influence.

The hypotheses based on our study were the following:

1. The inclusion of the individual within the influence of the SMI as a system is characterized by a close interrelationship between the activeness of the individual in basic types of social activities and his activeness in mass-communicative activities;
2. The inclusion subsystems, which include the basic types of social activities of the individual, form a hierarchical system based on the closeness of ties with mass communicative activities; in other words, the influence of SMI on the activeness of the individual on the various types of social activities varies;
3. The process of inclusion of the individual in the SMI realm of influence is progressive: the level of overall social activeness of the individual will increase with the increased level of his mass communicative activity (which must be expressed in changes within the inclusion subsystem and its components and in the interaction among the latter). In other words, the inclusion is a stable system.

From the operational viewpoint the level of activeness of the individual in each type of activity was determined in our study with questions, the answers to which were rated in a three- or five-point scale, gradually changing from 0 to 1, while the sum total of points, computed on the basis of the individual points weighed in advance were the indicator of the activeness of the individual in terms of a specific activity. Based on the value of the latter, audiences (types of social subjects) were classified into groups: a 1-0.65 indicator meant an active group; the indicator for an average group ranged from 0.65 to 0.35; and that of the passive group, from 0.35 to 0. The activity scale indicator, which includes some 70 individual empirical indicators covering all types of activities, thus gives an idea of the level of inclusion of the individual in the realm of SMI influence. The structure of the empirical inclusion indicator was "expanded" in a questionnaire of standardized "Interview With Readers, Listeners and Viewers."¹

The gradual expansion of the scale of the study enabled us to achieve the optimal operational meaning of basic concepts and of the survey procedure itself and, thus, to observe one of the most important conditions for obtaining reliable and accurate information--the possibility of data duplication.

A correlation study was conducted initially² for the basic empirical indicators of mass communicative activeness, including the basic empirical indicators of the activeness of the individual in other types of activity. It turned out that the closeness of ties between empirical indicators of activeness for each type of activity was significantly higher than among indicators of activeness for different types of activity. This enabled us to establish the adequacy of the handling of the concepts we used and laid the foundations for the indicator study.³ In our view, this study is the most consistent with the theoretical postulates we presented and each type of activity is represented by its specific set of empirical indicators. Taken separately, they characterize a given aspect of activity, whereas taken together, such indicators provide a relatively stable picture of the higher disposition of the individual for one type of activity or another and the results of the use of such dispositions.

Three groups of respondents were set up with a high, average and low mass-communicative indicator (MKA), cognitive (PA) and sociopolitical (OPA) and material-practical (MPA) for the purpose of testing the first two research hypotheses with the use of a computer. We then determined the closeness of ties among these indicators. We shall use only the extreme groups--the active and the passive--for the sake of greater clarity and simplicity of presentation. Since the determination of the closeness of ties in this case was based on quadricellular tables, we used the Yul association coefficient, which is convenient also because it indicates not only the strength but the nature of ties among characteristics: negative or inverse and positive or direct ties (-1 less than 0 less than +1) (Fig. 1).

As we can see, a close positive tie exists between the cognitive, sociopolitical and material-practical activeness of the individual, on the one hand, and his mass communicative activeness, on the other. The first hypothesis, therefore, may be considered proven.

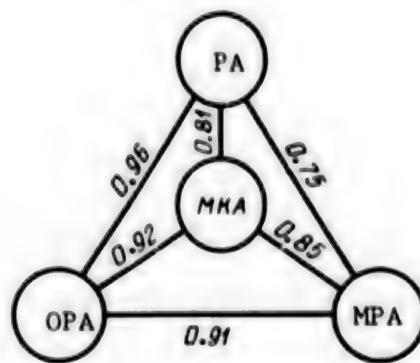


Fig. 1. Interconnection among subsystems of inclusion of the individual in SMI sphere of influence.

It is also obvious that the inclusion subsystems are set up in a certain hierarchical order, the base of which is the closeness of ties with the mass communicative activity of the individual, thus proving the second hypothesis as well. The most closely linked to mass communicative sociopolitical activity, which is determined to the greatest extent by social relations, is the social activeness of the individual.

The third hypothesis in our study was tested as follows. The components we named are the superior dispositions of the individual to engage in one type of activity or another and the results of such actions, as we pointed out, are not simply a sum total of arbitrarily chosen characteristics of consciousness and behavior but quite stable formations which are considered as a subsystem of the inclusion of the individual within the SMI sphere of influence. In order to establish the link among these components, we traced changes in the components of each subsystem through the lens of the mass communicativeness activeness of the individual. It turned out that among the group of respondents with a high level of mass communicative activeness the number of readers, listeners and viewers with an active disposition toward sociopolitical activities was several times higher compared to the group with a low level of mass communicative activeness. In precisely the same way, the first of these groups included several hundred percent more information consumers, who actively exercise their disposition toward sociopolitical activeness, compared with the second.

A similar trend is noted also in the study of changes in the components of the other inclusion subsystems: the higher the level of mass communicative activeness (consumption and production of mass information), the more active become the components of all inclusion subsystems. In other words, the inclusion of the individual within the sphere of SMI influence shows all the characteristics of a systems integrity: changes in one of the components of the system lead to changes in all others and in the integrative features of the

entity. Therefore, the first part of the hypothesis relative to the progressive nature of the process of the inclusion of the individual within the realm of SMI influence could be considered confirmed.

The following question must be answered in order to test the second part of the hypothesis: how does the nature of interconnections among subsystem components (consciousness and behavior) and of the subsystems themselves of inclusion (types of activity) change depending on the level of mass communicative activeness of the individual?

In order to answer the first part of the question we traced changes in the closeness of ties (based on Pierson's reciprocal linkage coefficient C) between the dispositions of the individual for one type of activity or another and the results of their implementation through the lens of mass communicative activeness. It turned out that the closeness of ties between a disposition (consciousness) and the results of its implementation (behavior) in the group of respondents with a low level of mass communicative activeness, i.e., in the lesser-developed system of inclusion, was higher ($C = 0.52$),⁴ compared to the high-level group or, the more developed system ($C = 0.42$). With rare exceptions, the study of changes in the closeness of ties among corresponding components of other subsystems (types of activity) displays an identical trend: with an increase in the mass communicative activeness of the individual we note not the expected increase of relations among components of inclusion subsystems but, conversely, their discoordination or "dispositional-behavioral dissonance" (7, p 166).

In order to answer the second part of the question we traced changes in the closeness of ties among components of different subsystems (types of social activeness depending on the mass communicative activeness of the individual).

We determined that the closeness of ties among components of the different subsystems of inclusion in the group of respondents with a low level of mass communicative activeness was higher ($C = 0.48$) than in the high-level group ($C = 0.25$). The study of changes in the closeness of ties among the other subsystems of the inclusion of the personality within the sphere of SMI influence--both on the level of higher dispositions and on the level of the results of their realization in a given type of activity revealed in virtually all cases the same trend: with increased mass communicativeness of the individual we note a discoordination not only among the components of one subsystem or another (dispositional-behavioral dissonance) but also among the subsystems themselves (types of social activeness).

Therefore, the final (and most important) of the hypotheses we formulated was not confirmed as a whole: the process of inclusion of the individual within the realm of SMI influence shows a regressive nature at a certain stage. In other words, inclusion is an unstable system.

On the surface, this seems a paradoxical situation: on the one hand, the system develops and becomes more active (the values of the common indicators of activeness of the individual and their components increase); on the other, the interconnection among its components weakens and, to use a technical term, the

system "is in a state of conflict." In other words, these groups of SMI audiences are characterized by a rather high level of information consumption. However, the real influence of the SMI on the consciousness and behavior of these readers, listeners and viewers proves to be relatively less than among audiences with limited experience in the consumption of mass information. Other researchers as well have come across a paradox of this nature. For example, here is what Leningrad scientists who have studied problems of self-regulation and forecasting of individual social behavior write on this subject: "We assumed that the harmony between disposition and behavior would be one of the manifestations of the maturity of the individual, for which reason we expected that coordination would increase with the increased value of the other features of a developed personality. Nevertheless, it turned out that the coefficient of disposition-behavior correlations were algebraically higher among the less-developed subgroups" (7, pp 151-153).

How to explain this paradox? Considering a possible influence of "instrumental factors" (the imperfection of the method used in measuring said personality characteristics, partial comparability of some results of its application, etc.), the authors of the study indicate as the main reason the "existence of inverse ratios between the effectiveness of human activities in the processes of knowledge and transformation of the object and the adequacy of the object's reflection caused by the processes themselves" (7, p 158). In other words, it is a question of the level of realization by the various types of individuals of the reasons for their activities. Unquestionably, this factor substantially influences the effect of said law and, consequently, can explain it to a certain extent.

In our view, it is also a question of the fact that at a certain level of inclusion of the individual within the SMI realm of influence a kind of familiarity with the effect of this factor occurs, previously considered an important and necessary condition for the functioning and development of the system (in our study mass communicative activities are such a condition). In the course of its development, the system becomes more complex and differentiated in such a way that along with its increased activeness its subsystems become increasingly autonomous and less related with each other and, which is most essential, with the mass communicative activities of the individual, which stops being an important and necessary prerequisite for this development. The process is graphically described in Fig. 2.

In our view, determining the effectiveness of the inclusion of the individual in the realm of SMI influence is of both theoretical-methodological and scientific-practical significance. Clearly, the party's demand of the need to organize ideological work on the basis of a comprehensive approach in accordance with the features of the different social groups applies with full justification to the activities of mass information media as well.

For example, our research shows that the scale indicator of the inclusion of the employed population of the BSSR in the realm of SMI influence is $i_1 = 0.54$. In other words, it is slightly above the scale average (ranging from 0, or total absence of said feature, to 1, or the maximal value of the feature). Despite its entire conventionality, this indicator shows the limitations of the traditional approach to defining the effectiveness of the

information-propaganda process (mass communication) based on the statistical coverage of multimillion-strong audiences, popular among some researchers and journalists, enabling us to counter it with an approach based on the systems analysis of the inclusion of the individual within the realm of SMI influence. Let us also point out that this approach is entirely consistent with the most important criterion in assessing the efficiency of ideological work, clearly formulated at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum: "There is only one criterion in assessing their activities: the level of political consciousness and labor activeness of the masses (1).

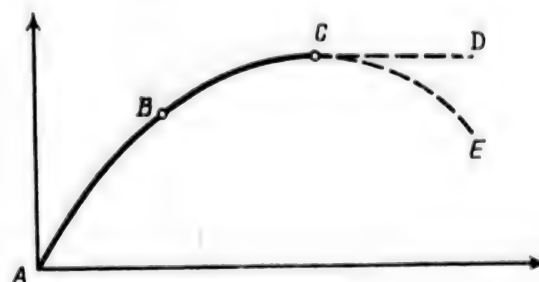


Fig. 2. Changes in the closeness of interconnections among the levels of mass communicative activeness of the individual (horizontal section A) and the level of overall social activeness of the individual (vertical section A) in the process of the individual's inclusion in the sphere of influence of mass communication media.

As the diagram in Fig. 2 shows, the weakened closeness of ties between the levels of mass communicativeness and overall social activeness of the individual or, in other words, the reduced influence of SMI on the individual, is not sudden. In the first stage, the process of inclusion is characterized by the steadily rising and direct influence of the SMI: the person tries to perceive as much information as is possible; he trusts and a great deal of this perception is remembered a long time and actively used in all types of activities. In other words, the person's socialization is largely accomplished by his inclusion in the realm of influence of mass information media (the A-B segment in the curve, Fig. 2). The situation changes, however, after the flood of information coming from newspapers, radio and television, addressed to "one and all," comes across the increased level of information of the people and better-realized information requirements. At that stage SMI influence increases significantly more slowly and becomes more indirect (segment B-C) or else remains static (segment C-D). Once the volume of information needs and the level of awareness of them has reached a certain limit, SMI influence begins to decline or even creates dysfunctional results such as, for example, a "boomerang effect" (segment C-E).

In the latter case, while continuing actively to use SMI information, to a certain extent the people abandon the realm of their influence and begin to satisfy their information means with the help of other means and methods. This new level in the assimilation of the social and cultural environment could be not only positive and desirable to society (reading of scientific-

publicistic and sociopolitical literature and attending lectures, exhibits, theaters and museums), but have a negative, an undesirable aspect (consumption of information disseminated by ideologically hostile sources).

Hence it is clear that the further growth of SMI technical power and the increased range and accessibility of mass information do not by themselves guarantee the preservation and increased effectiveness of the influence of the press, radio and television on the mind and behavior of the individual or the strengthening of their role in the spiritual life of society. This requires, above all, efficient changes in the qualitative characteristics of mass information media and a scientifically substantiated formulation of priorities in socioinformation policy, oriented toward the steadily rising level of social and cultural development of Soviet people.

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FOOTNOTES

1. The questionnaire was drafted jointly by the author and N. V. Yefimova. The method was initially tested in the study of inclusion of the individual in the sphere of influence of a plant newspaper and radio at the Khimvolokno imeni V. I. Lenin Production Association in Mogilev and, subsequently, after proper adjustments, in the study of the inclusion of the individual in the sphere of influence of republic newspapers, radio and television. The step-by-step zoned probability selection, which was a proportional representation of various areas and basic sociodemographic and socioprofessional groups of the entire employed Belorussian population, totaled 3,600 persons with $\alpha = 0.03$. The survey was conducted with the help of our own interviewers at the place of work of the respondents in the autumn of 1980.
2. The study was made at the computer center of the Belorussian State University imeni V. I. Lenin based on a mathematical program developed by Ye. G. Grishkov.
3. The study was based on a mathematical program developed by S. V. Radyno.
4. The value is given for coefficients of C, in which $p < 0.05$.

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COMMODITY-MONETARY RELATIONS: ARTIFICIAL ELIMINATION OR SKILLFUL USE?

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 84
(signed to press 25 Oct 84) pp 45-54

[Article by Konstantin Alekseyevich Ulybin, candidate of economic sciences and chief of the political economy chair, Moscow Higher Militia School, USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. Coauthor of the monograph "Ekonomika Sel'skogo Khozyaystva" [Agricultural Economics] (1984). This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] A consideration by SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA of debatable problems of the further development of the economic management mechanism is quite timely. This is an extremely complex problem many of the sides of which remain insufficiently studied. The broad exchange of views among representatives of different sociological disciplines will unquestionably contribute to its comprehensive solution. In this connection, I would like to express a few considerations on the rather controversial concepts expressed in V. M. Yakushev's article "Democratic Centralism in National Economic Management" (No 2, 1984).

In analyzing the experience gained in perfecting the economic mechanism in recent decades, V. M. Yakushev attempts to prove that the main difficulties and problems may be explained with the unsuccessful aspiration to make use of commodity-monetary relations in socialist production practice (9, pp 53-57). Essentially, he suggests that their use be abandoned. We believe that these conclusions are erroneous.

What is the basis for V. M. Yakushev's claims and what is his line of reasoning? He begins with a study of socialist economic management as practiced in recent years. This type of approach, we must say, deserves thorough encouragement. "The viewpoint of life and practical experience," V. I. Lenin wrote, "must be the first and basic point of view in the theory of knowledge" (5, p 145). In the final account, practical experience is the criterion of truth.

What has V. M. Yakushev seen in it? He begins his study with the assumption that the main efforts in the area of perfecting economic management in recent years were aimed at "coordinating two regulators--planning and the law of value" (9, p 53). All of these efforts, however, ended unsuccessfully. We were unsuccessful in balancing prices and cost-accounting and value levers failed to function. Consequently, the author concludes, the Gosplan began to

limit the area of application of cost-accounting methods and the enterprises began gradually to abandon them. All of this allegedly occurred for the reason that under socialism commodity-monetary relations neither exist nor could exist. This being the case, how could we rely on the efficient use of something which simply does not exist?

Generally speaking, such was the result of the scientist's practical experience. However, even a person unrelated to the production process could ask where is the wealth and variety of economic life and where are its contradictory and complex features. The result is that here we find nothing other than a hard-to-explain stubbornness on the part of economic managers to use non-existing commodity-monetary relations. Therefore, this is all due to human naivete and lack of information. Simple as that.

Naturally, however, this is not a question of lack of knowledge on the part of extremely practical people. The actions of a manager are motivated least of all by emotions and prejudices. The logic of his behavior is dictated essentially by the objective and implacable demands of reality.

To begin with, let us point out that the process of perfecting economic management has been in fact richer and better-saturated and not reduced in the least to resolving the "plan-market" problem. Major changes have been made in the organization and management of public production. Several new ministries and departments have been set up and many of them organized on the basis of a two- and three-step management system. Extensive work was developed on the creation of industrial and production associations. At the same time, the redistribution of management powers and responsibilities took place "vertically," and new mechanisms of interaction among sectorial and territorial managements were set up. The principle of democratic centralism was developed further. The role of the USSR Gosplan and other all-union departments in resolving national economic problems was increased. At the same time, the economic activities of local bodies and collectives of associations and enterprises were energized and the participation of the working people in production management was expanded. Major changes were made in production planning. The procedure of plan formulation was improved; the scope and role of 5-year assignments were increased; new planning indicators and methods began to be applied extensively (including normative-ceiling); criteria in assessing the work of production collectives were refined. Substantial changes took place in the development of cost accounting and in the systems of material and moral worker incentives. Even such a very brief enumeration of the reorganization which took place in the economic management mechanism proves that the process of developing the functioning of commodity-monetary relations neither held nor could hold a decisive position within it. The perfecting of value levers is merely one of the elements in the complex system of socialist production management. Therefore, it is hardly suitable to exaggerate and dramatize their role and significance.

The effort to present the totality of commodity-monetary levers as a second production regulator under socialism and the aspiration to put them on the same level as planning and even to pit one against the other as being essentially incompatible triggers major objections as well (9, p 53). This effort is essentially erroneous and inevitably leads to wrong conclusions.

The science of economics provided exhaustive answers to these questions a long time ago. No single law, even a most important one, could be taken as a regulator of the complex socialist social production system. The law of value could lay a claim to such a role even less so. The socialist economy is developing under the determining influence of the entire system of objective economic laws.

However, under socialism planning and value levers are by no means simple phenomena. They cannot be compared with each other as facets of the economic mechanism of equal value. Yet that is precisely what V. M. Yakushev essentially does, by defining them as two production regulators. We have known for a long time that commodity-monetary levers are not methods unrelated to planning. They are among the components of a planned organized socialist production management system. Value indicators, prices, volumes of credits and monetary and financial resources are elements of the plan and its components rather than some kind of separate regulators. The task of improving them is, essentially, one of the further development of planning methods and levers.

That makes entirely groundless hints at an allegedly existing genetic incompatibility between the planned nature of the socialist economy and value instruments of economic management. "The view of planning and commodity-monetary relations," writes the noted Soviet economist L. I. Abalkin in the preface to the book by Kh. Lyuft, "as opposites and mutually exclusive concepts is scientifically incorrect. Such contraposition based on contemporary achievements in socialist political economy could be considered a stage already crossed, as something of the past" (7, p 13).

Let us now consider the more specific problems of the practical use of value levers in the system of socialist economic management in recent years. Let us immediately point out that it provides no grounds for depicting its results exclusively in dark colors. The picture here is more variegated and conflicting. Improvements in the use of value levers followed several occasionally conflicting trends. Thus, extensive work has been and is still under way to surmount their inflated value. This took place, in particular, in the case of the planning indicator system. Value indicators frequently assumed a dominating position among them (gross and marketed output, etc.). The increased role of physical measurements in planning practice and the assessment of enterprise work on the basis of the implementation of contractual obligations enable us to surmount to a great extent a one-sided value orientation.

However, such positive processes turned the heads of some scientists and practical workers. Occasionally, things were pushed so far that the criticism of value indicators was interpreted by them as appeals to abandon the "services" of value levers totally. Incidentally, such moods are clearly sensed in V. M. Yakushev's article. However, nothing is new in this world. It has long been noted that the distance from one extreme to another frequently turns out to be very short.

Cases of "excessive" use of value indicators in planning do not provide any grounds for a scornful attitude toward them, not to mention their neglect. The latter is simply impossible under socialism, for the obvious reason that

the problem of the production process here is the unity between a consumer value (usefulness) and social labor outlays. Physical indicators express usefulness while value indicators express social labor. The conscious management of the development of the production process, therefore, presumes the use of both physical and value indicators in a state of unity. If we underestimate the former, as was the case until recently, the production workers begin to neglect the question of production variety. If we neglect the latter--the value indicators--the result is the uncontrolled utilization of social labor. This is confirmed by the past underestimating of the production cost indicator. Its exclusion from the plan hindered the efficient utilization of resources. The cost of production indicator is currently being reasserted in the enterprises as one of the basic indicators. This has enabled us to substantially upgrade the conservation of resources. Extremes in assessing the role of value indicators inevitably convert into undesirable processes.

At this point it would be relevant to note the following as well: the unskillful use not only of value but of physical indicators could lead to adverse results. For example, the improper use of "tons" as a production yardstick creates tonnage--the same old "gross output." Currently physical indicators which reflect most accurately the consumer features of the output are being energetically used in planning. This leads the production process to a more efficient satisfaction of the needs of society.

Let us now consider the other line of development of value levers. Strange though it may seem, a certain exaggeration of commodity-monetary relations was combined, in its time, with a certain underutilization of their possibilities and a certain underdevelopment. The stimulating potential of profits, prices, credits and funds was not always fully realized in economic practice. During the first years of implementation of the economic reform (1965-1968), this circumstance triggered a phenomenon which could be described as "commodity-monetary romanticism." At that time, it seemed to many people that it would suffice to make more extensive use of value methods in economic practice as a "magic wand" and all economic development difficulties would be eliminated. Reality quickly refuted the naivete of such concepts, however. In reality, the problems of perfecting the economic mechanism proved to be much more extensive and complex than the utilization of value methods. Furthermore, the quick and efficient assimilation of the latter was by no means immediate. It became clear that value levers were quite flexible, mobile, elastic and conflicting. Their skillful use demands of the economic manager the specific consideration of a number of circumstances, high efficiency and economic skill. A simplistic approach to them could lead to negative processes (which, alas, occasionally occurred). For example, efforts to limit the assessment of enterprise activities to the volume of goods marketed and the level of profitability, unskillful handling of prices, and uncoordinated use of a variety of value levers, as V. M. Yakushev accurately notes, occasionally turned into losses and disproportions (9, p 54).

Therefore, the need to eliminate the obvious absurdity of the artificial implantation of commodity-monetary relations and the unskillful use of the latter were precisely the base on which the seeds of doubt were cast as to the expediency of the utilization of value methods and their realistic nature. It

was this negativism that feeds the obviously erroneous interpretation of the mechanism governing the application of said methods and levers.

Here we touch upon a subject worthy of a more detailed study.

"If we consider socialist production as a variety of commodity production," we read in one of the examples of such an interpretation given by V. M. Yakushev, "the deviation between retail prices and value looks like a manifestation of subjectivism" (9, p 55).

Let us clarify this concept. Here V. M. Yakushev proceeds from the profoundly scientific Marxian definition of price as the monetary manifestation of value, which is unquestionable. However, it does not follow from this in the least that price and value must always coincide. Such a conclusion would be formally logical and, therefore, erroneous. In reality, as Marx frequently emphasized, "value is a center of gravity around which their prices (of the commodities--the author) orbit" (2, p 195). The dialectics of economic life is such that prices, as the monetary expression of value, rarely express it with sufficient accuracy. The mechanism of the utilization of the law of value is based precisely on the noncoincidence of prices and values. Price manipulations (or, more accurately, the extent to which they deviate from value!) motivate economic management to perform the necessary actions. Let us assume that the production of an obsolete commodity must be curtailed. In this case the price of the commodity is reduced, which makes its production unprofitable, and vice versa. Skillful control of the deviation between price and value enables us to direct the interest of producers to the solution of planned assignments. In a word, the disparity between prices and values, V. M. Yakushev's opinion notwithstanding, is no subjectivism whatsoever but objective reality and economic law. The ability with which we can make it work in resolving socioeconomic problems is a different matter.

Another simplification is related to identifying value with outlays of all sorts. In the best of cases value is understood as the average (sectorial average) outlays of materialized and live labor needed for the production of goods. According to Marx, however, value is the socially necessary labor outlays for the production of a commodity (1, pp 47-49). Under socialism, this applies to production outlays included in an optimal plan. Here is an example. Let us assume that the production cost of a pair of shoes is 40 rubles. Ten of these rubles are caused by the inefficient utilization of equipment, raw materials and manpower. Furthermore, one-third of the shoes remain unsold in the stores. Under a simplistic understanding of value, as is sometimes the case, the price of such shoes would be approximately 45 rubles (a profit of 5 rubles). The argument is that the price must be consistent with the value, i.e., with outlays.

Yet what should the real situation be? An optimal plan would include the 10 rubles of unnecessary outlays and the fact that one-third of the goods would remain unsold. The price of such shoes would be 35 rubles, which would force the producer to curtail output and substantially to reduce unnecessary outlays. As we can see, the simplistic understanding of value makes increased social labor outlays profitable, whereas the scientific and truly socialist view creates the opposite desire to save on such outlays.

Here is another example of inaccurate understanding of value and price. Economic managers frequently think as follows: price expresses value and value means labor. Therefore, the consumer value of a commodity is not directly related to the price. As a result, commodities fetching virtually identical prices but greatly different in terms of quality, durability, aesthetic features and other consumer characteristics show up in the stores. Meanwhile, the producers of superior goods wonder why they should earn for their excellent commodity as much as indifferent and careless workers. They are told that this is the result of the law of value. After that, who would consider such a law to be needed under socialism?

But what has the law of value have to do with this? According to this law, socially necessary outlays are determined in terms of unit of consumer value. If the consumer qualities of an item are twice as good as those of another, the price should be commensurately higher. If this fact is always taken into consideration, it would become more profitable to manufacture good rather than poor quality goods. In this case, would the skillful use of the law of value conflict with the objectives of socialism? The case would be precisely the opposite.

Current socialist production practices provide no grounds whatsoever for any negative assessment of the current status of commodity-monetary relations. Their effect has been substantially energized in recent years in order to limit, wherever necessary, certain disproportions. Extremes are being gradually eliminated. Meanwhile, the means and methods applied in the utilization of such relations are being perfected. Although shortcomings in price setting remain quite significant, we cannot fail to see that in recent years major progress has been made in their development. Prices are now being set by taking more into consideration the truly socially necessary labor outlays for the production of commodities; their stimulating potential has increased. They have become more flexible and reflect the quality of output more completely. Positive changes have taken place in the profit distribution mechanism as well. A promising standardized distribution method is being developed. The role of the economic incentive fund has been enhanced. Now it essentially depends on end production results. The procedure for forming financial resources and payments for assets is being perfected. The realm of application of long-term credits in ensuring enterprise capital investments is being broadened. Naturally, many unresolved problems and unclarified areas remain in the utilization of commodity-monetary relations. What is unquestionable, however, is that with every passing year our economic managers are mastering the arsenal of value methods increasingly and more fully. The 26th CPSU Congress paid particular attention to the task of "making increasingly active use of the entire system of economic levers and incentives" (6, pp 126, 199). Briefly, economic practice is not faced with the alternative of using or not using commodity-monetary relations. The question was resolved long ago and once and for all. The current task in the agenda is how to achieve a more efficient use of the rich combination of value methods and levers in accordance with their role and purpose under socialism and with a view to ensuring the planned and highly dynamic development of the national economy.

Unable to find convincing arguments for rejecting commodity-monetary relations under socialism, V. M. Yakushev turns to the theoretical substantiation of his views. He refers to Engels in claiming that the main reason for the existence of commodity-monetary relations is the existence of private producers (9, pp 54-55). Engels's words, however, apply to capitalist production. In this case, he is unquestionably right. Engels voiced other concepts, cited by V. M. Yakushev, relative to the communist communes. Here again Engels is right. Who can deny that under communism trade among labor collectives will take place not with the help of money but certificates which would take into consideration labor in terms of its natural measurement--time. Engels substantiates his conclusions as follows: commodity relations under capitalism are the result of private acquisition; under full communism they will disappear totally. However, V. M. Yakushev deals specifically with socialism, with the first and still insufficiently developed phase of the communist production method. Is it accurate to claim, citing Engels, that since there is no private appropriation under socialism nor could socialist relations, such as value, money, etc., exist? As we know, developed socialism is a socioeconomic system qualitatively different from capitalism and of an opposite nature. Even a nonspecialist would understand that in this case commodity-monetary relations would be different in terms of social nature and purpose and, consequently, in terms of the reasons which create them. If such is the case, why is it necessary, addressing oneself to socialism and denying the existence of commodity relations under it, to use arguments borrowed from the arsenal of capitalist reality? Here the scientific inaccuracy is clear. If we wish to substantiate the negation of such relations under socialism, the arguments should be sought in socialist reality itself. Alas, V. M. Yakushev does not find a single argument in our daily life to substantiate his positions, at which point he turns to the past or to the distant future.

Let us try to formulate the question of commodity-monetary relations under socialism differently. Let us ask ourselves whether we could do without them? If the answer is yes, they are not an objective necessity. However, before answering the question we must clearly define the economic nature of such relations. Yakushev avoids a detailed formulation of the matter. Nevertheless, without precisely defining the nature of a phenomenon which is either rejected or accepted, either substantiation would be difficult.

Briefly stated, the main feature of the economic content of commodity relations may be reduced to the following: they are an indirect method for comparing various types of work and labor results by equalizing the latter to a uniform social standard. Let us discuss this idea. If two labor collectives exchange their output expressed directly in the number of hours spent in work, no commodity or value relations would exist. It is a different matter if the goods produced by these collectives cannot be immediately expressed in labor time of equal significance. In this case, the goods produced by different collectives are initially expressed in terms of a uniform social norm and is compared only on this basis. It is at this point that value relations appear. Under capitalism they shape spontaneously, in the course of a fierce competitive struggle and in the process of equating goods offered on the market with socially necessary labor outlays. These outlays are determined by the laws of capitalism, the law of the production of added value above all.

What is the situation under socialism? Let us note, above all, that in this case it remains necessary to compare the labor of different production collectives by correlating them with a uniform social measurement. In other words, under socialism the labor of the workers and its results cannot be directly expressed in terms of working time and compared on that basis. It is entirely clear that two collectives identical in the number of workers who have worked 8 hours each, cannot directly trade their output in a 1:1 ratio. In all likelihood, such collectives use different facilities; production conditions, personnel skills and attitude toward the work are also different. As a result, thanks to its zeal, cunning, initiative and many other qualities, one of the collectives could produce a great deal more than the other. In a word, let us reemphasize that under socialism labor and its results cannot as yet be directly expressed in terms of time and traded on this basis. Such trade would be inequitable. It will become possible, as the Marxist classics predicted, only under total communism (3, p 18; 4, p 314).

It is entirely clear that the use of commodity-monetary relations under socialism is an objective necessity, a forced circumstance totally independent of the people's wish. Such relations, however, are substantially different from those under capitalism. They apply essentially to relations among labor collectives, not entirely but only in the part dealing with commodity dynamics. It is precisely in this area, in the area of horizontal economic relations, that the relative economic independence of our enterprises is maximally manifested. It is precisely this which makes exchange based on value necessary. Relations between society and production collectives and between the latter and the individual workers are structured on a different basis. Hence the conclusion that in our society the realm of commodity relations is small. Furthermore, value relations, methods and levers are, in our country, targets of direct planned influence on the part of society. They are structured consciously, based on social development targets. The social standards, measurements and comparisons among labor results are established by the state or its representative organizations on the basis of guidelines provided by the plan. That is why the socially necessary outlays for commodity output derive from and are dictated by the plan. Such is the most important feature of the shaping of value relations under socialism. In this case the latter lose their spontaneous-antagonistic nature. Consequently, their proper use gives no grounds to fear an intensification of economic autonomy, not to mention the capitalizing of socialist economic management, a result actually reached by V. M. Yakushev (9, p 55). It is only the separation of value relations from the plan and their arbitrary development and unskillful application which could lead to such consequences.

Therefore, commodity-monetary relations are an objective necessity. As V. A. Medvedev points out, "they were not introduced into the socialist economy from the outside but are organically inherent in it. They are a necessary and an essential element of the socialist economic system, without being its essence" (8, p 184). This conclusion as well is confirmed by socialist production practices. The development mechanism of efficient utilization of commodity relations contributes to the more successful solution of the problems of party

economic policy. V. M. Yakushev's opinion notwithstanding, neither contemporary economic theory nor the experience in socialist reorganizations reject the need for commodity-monetary relations in socialist society.

Here as well the following question arises: Why does V. M. Yakushev, ignoring obvious facts and scientific achievements, so stubbornly reject commodity-monetary relations under socialism? Let us read his article closely: the author is convinced that the occasional disproportion which arises between population-monetary income and commodity backup is explained with shaping worker wages on the basis of commodity-monetary concepts. Such is the way in which V. M. Yakushev understands this situation. Unnecessary monetary units are in circulation because of the participation of material incentive funds as part of the wages, formed on the basis of "accounting units." A clarification is needed at this point. In V. M. Yakushev's assumption, the wages people receive today are not money but worker certificates. The money used in commodity trading among enterprises are described by him as "accounting units." From V. M. Yakushev's viewpoint, the entire difficulty is that no distinction is made among them in computing wages. He believes that the working people should be given exclusively worker certificates--preplanned wage funds. In fact, however, they also receive accounting units through the material incentive and bonus funds. This, in his view, is the source of the trouble. It is precisely the accounting units which create an imbalance between income and commodities. Were we to abandon commodity-monetary relations, V. M. Yakushev believes, worker certificates would never be identified with accounting units and, consequently, no unnecessary funds would be in circulation and no distorting disproportions would develop.

We must say that this interpretation of the situation is original. It turns out that errors still encountered in shaping the population's income may be used as a theoretical substantiation for the rejection of commodity-monetary relations. However, is it a question merely of commodity-monetary relations?

It seems to us that V. M. Yakushev has excessively complicated this situation. Even assuming that all of us would begin to receive "worker certificates" only, even in that case no full guarantee that "unnecessary income would be brought" in circulation exists. A disproportion would become inevitable should such worker certificate funds (the wage fund of today) turn out excessive and not entirely backed by consumer goods. Therefore, V. M. Yakushev's plan in itself would change little. The reasons for monetary imbalance are found not in commodity relations but in the incomplete consideration of the requirements of respective economic laws. Furthermore, equally erroneous, theoretically as well as practically, is V. M. Yakushev's effort to consider wage funds not as money but as worker certificates and to erect, to use his expression, a Chinese wall between them and "accounting units." Let us consider this briefly.

Why is it that under socialism the wage fund cannot be interpreted as worker certificates? Above all because on the scale of the entire society and the enterprise, the wage fund is shaped as a specific share of the value of the produced commodities. Such funds are allocated not for the working time spent but for meeting specific standards set by society, on the basis of results of labor activities. The enterprise may be allocated the stipulated wage fund providing that it has produced a specific volume of goods with specific outlays.

We should also point out that drawing a main difference between monetary funds used in trade among enterprises ("accounting units" according to V. M. Yakushev) and wage funds ("worker certificates") is equally erroneous. Both are money. In the first case, however, their essential function is to account for the value and the working capital and, in the second, to be used as payment instruments. Therefore, V. M. Yakushev's claim notwithstanding, the reciprocal exchange between such monetary funds is not only possible but necessary. Where do wage funds come from? Under normal circumstances, they should come from earnings from goods marketed. This is obvious. The higher the output the greater the wage fund; the lesser the output, the lesser the earnings. There is nothing wrong in the fact that with good work wages increase through withholdings from earnings, paid to the bonus and incentive funds. This, furthermore, is very good, for it encourages efficient work. Naturally, income should not be "separated" from labor contribution. This, however, is a different matter. If we proceed from V. M. Yakushev's assumptions that these so-called "accounting units" (earnings) should not influence "worker certificates" (wages), we should entirely eliminate the material incentive and bonus funds. However, if we do not directly link wages to the volume of output, how would we encourage the activities of collectives and individual workers? It seems to us that V. M. Yakushev's theoretical elaborations lead to erroneous practical conclusions.

A monetary balance must be ensured not by rejecting commodity and value relations but by skillfully using their objective requirements. This is precisely the way followed in our economic practices.

The tie between wage and incentive funds and end production results is being strengthened currently. For example, according to the stipulations of the large-scale experiment currently under way in our country, wage increases will be directly based on real increases in output. As indicated by practical experience, this approach is fully justified. In an effort to earn more, the production collectives are now thinking above all about how to increase the production of goods needed by society.

At the same time, extensive work is being done to back the population's income with goods. A comprehensive target program for the production of consumer goods is being drafted in the USSR currently. At the same time, special assignments have been issued to associations and enterprises for the production of such commodities per ruble of wage fund. Therefore, the individual enterprises and the national economy as a whole are ensuring fuller support of the wage fund with the necessary goods.

It is no less important for increases in commodity prices to be consistent with improved consumer value. In this case, the enterprise's income will not deviate from the real value of the commodities.

The entire experience in socialist production and contemporary economic research fully substantiate the belief that commodity-monetary relations under socialism must not be eliminated or artificially surmounted but used skillfully and efficiently.

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'MONETARY MEASUREMENTS' AND ECONOMIC PRACTICES OF SEL'KHOZTEKHNIKA RAYON ASSOCIATIONS

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[Article by Ivan Dmitriyevich Lisiyenko, candidate of economic sciences and head of the Main Administration of the Organization of Labor and Wages and Automated Control Systems, RSFSR Goskomsel'khoztekhnika, honored RSFSR economist. This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] The publication of V. M. Yakushev's article in this journal triggered a discussion of a problem of great importance. The current planned management mechanism, based on the commodity production concept which was formulated by several Soviet economists in the 1960s, is making many economic managers dissatisfied today. Equally alarming is the fact that the mechanism of commodity-monetary relations poorly influences the development of a thrifty attitude toward public property in the people and leads to the squandering of material and labor resources.

On the surface, V. M. Yakushev's critical statements on the subject of commodity-monetary relations seem out of place against the background of daily economic practices. That is obviously why the journal's editors published V. M. Yakushev's article in the "Discussions" section. What is amazing is something else: the persistence with which some supporters of the concept of planned commodity production are trying to introduce their views in economic management practices ignoring the fact that life has rejected their theoretical elaborations.

Planning and proportionality are based on consumer value while commodity output (planned or unplanned) on the monetary assessment of production results. Numerous examples prove that complications develop in the economy essentially as a result of the immoderate use of commodity mechanisms and the excessive saturation of planned and reported enterprise indicators with monetary assessments.

As early as the 1960s, with the conversion to the new system of planning and economic incentive, the commodity millstone crushed with enviable consistency the labor productivity indicator, converting it from one approved as a directive into an estimate. The strict accounting of all products, works and services was replaced by the "basic nomenclature" indicator which applied to no

more than a few items. The consequence was that value indicators inflated enterprise plans and reports. Monetary assessments overcrowded planning documents and bookkeeping and statistical records. The conversion of physical indicators and working time into rubles became the target of daily concern of planning workers, demanding an increasing number of accounting office workers and computing equipment. Working time took a back seat to accounting and accountability.

Today many controlling bodies are forced to waste a great deal of time on computing and comparing monetary assessments which now present a distorted picture of the dynamics of the public product. Meat and dill, machine tools and galoshes, T-shirts and freight cars are all converted into cash. The national income is growing in monetary expression although the production of the most important type of commodities per unit of output is declining. Yet it is entirely a question of the fact that in a socialist economy the profit and national income indicators in the monetary expression are indicators of labor outlays rather than efficiency as some presume. This is convincingly proved in V. M. Yakushev's article.

The groundlessness of a monetary assessment of labor productivity has been frequently criticized. Such assessments, speaking bluntly, merely muddy the water, facilitating the operations of all sorts of dodgers. All it takes is to add an expensive knickknack to a bad product for productivity to jump up. Above all, however, a monetary measurement does not allow us to issue labor productivity plans to production sectors, brigades or workplaces. A planned assignment in monetary terms, issued from above, is somehow "left hanging" between the enterprise's management and the performers. Ignoring the recommendations of economics, it becomes necessary to circumvent the commodity mechanism and to use a variety of physical indicators which enable us to reach the necessary results. Such circumventing maneuvers aimed at creating an additional production control mechanism, like many other methods of physical-labor measurements of labor productivity, however, are currently being extensively used at enterprises while remaining unmastered by the planning bodies.

The "teeth" of the commodity mechanism, as V. M. Yakushev justifiably notes in his article, leave particularly painful marks on specialized services and sectors. Commodity relations lead to their economic autonomy and increased commercial activities to the detriment of basic production objectives and tasks and create departmentalism. Such phenomena are frequently explained with shortcomings in the organizational structure, planning errors or improper managerial behavior whereas, in fact, they are the result of the artificial implantation of commodity relations among governmental enterprises as confirmed with the example of the rayon production associations for production-technical support to agriculture.

Sel'khoztekhnika enterprises are the industrial centers of agricultural production through which industry and agriculture come together. They operate repair workshops, technical servicing stations, motor vehicle enterprises and material procurement bases. Their main objectives are to maintain the machine fleet of kolkhozes and sovkhozes in permanent technical readiness, to lower maintenance outlays and steadily to upgrade the level of labor mechanization

in crop growing and animal husbandry. This is what determines the main indicators in assessing the activities of rayon sel'khoztekhnika associations, which are increasing the production of agricultural commodities and labor productivity in serviced farms, ensuring the implementation of contractual obligations in terms of production and technical support of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, providing quality work and services and lowering costs.

In practical terms, however, these indicators are pushed into the background, for the planning system, based on commodity-monetary relations, is oriented toward the marketing of commodity output and profits, thus distorting the objectives and tasks of specialized production facilities. The economic, financial and social "prosperity" of the associations essentially depend on marketing their output and services and the size of their profits. In cases of nonfulfillment of the plan in terms of work value and earning shortfalls, the labor collectives would find themselves without economic incentive funds and would inevitably face financial difficulties. The plan indicators set as the cornerstone not achieving end objectives but fulfilling the marketing financial plan. Yet it is easier to fulfill this plan by raising prices of goods and services. Prices, however, depend on outlays. The higher the outlays, therefore, the more successfully will the value indicators of the production plan be met. Therefore, the current commodity-producing mechanism encourages association collectives to increase the cost of equipment repairs regardless of their conviction that it is the opposite which is necessary.

Naturally, this type of strategy applied in planned commodity output conflicts with the interests of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. What is important to them is for the equipment to be in a permanent state of readiness and for its maintenance costs to drop. However, such costs are increased as a result of unrestrained price increases. It is understandable, therefore, why kolkhoz and sovkhoz managers doubt the need for specialized production facilities.

Most serious attention should be paid to perfecting relations between kolkhozes and sovkhozes and servicing enterprises. Considerable successes have been achieved in this area in recent years. The orientation of agricultural production toward end results, the conversion of servicing enterprises to work on a nonprofit basis and the enhanced role of contractual obligations in terms of physical indicators confirm that despite the theory of planned commodity-monetary relations, new, noncommodity forms of socialist economic management are developing in the daily activities of labor collectives.

Actually, the adjustment process of planned commodity-monetary relations is reduced to the creation of a parallel noncommodity economic management mechanism. Physical indicators are being increasingly used not only in relations among enterprises but in intraproduction planning as well. The methodology of planned economic control based on the law of economy of working time is being intensively assimilated. In a word, the essence of perfecting the economic mechanism actually determines and should determine not the adaptation of planning to commodity-monetary relations but their gradual replacement with planning.

The idea of structuring a system of distribution according to labor on the basis of socialist competition, formulated in V. M. Yakushev's article, is attractive for it offers the possibility of perfecting the economic mechanism on a noncommodity basis. The main difficulty here is to define the place of the individual collective in the competition. In this case, the problem can be resolved by comparing labor results with results expressed not in terms of exchange but consumer value. Another noteworthy merit of this distribution method is that it enables us to coordinate quite easily the interests of labor collectives with those of society at large. The central authority sets the indicators and rules of the competition and is able to influence the trends and nature of labor collective activities by changing indicators.

Determining labor productivity on the basis of working time has been theoretically substantiated and methodically developed by Soviet scientists. The labor method of planning and accounting of this indicator offers unquestionable advantages compared with monetary measurements; however, the crowding of official reports with monetary evaluations has become the main obstacle to the development of the consideration of working time. In this connection as well computations of the efficiency of economic decisions take into consideration essentially nothing but rubles--the efficiency of the commercial aspect of the production process. The economic-mathematical models of physical and labor intersectorial balances, which were developed in our country and are a tremendous accomplishment in Soviet economic thinking, are equally insufficiently used in national economic planning and management for those same reasons. What all of this means is that the practical utilization of the advantages of the socialist production method and making production relations consistent with the production-technical potential of developed socialism call for substantially limiting the area of commodity relations merely to economic spheres in which, as V. M. Yakushev justifiably writes, they are truly expedient (such as public consumer services).

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HOW TO INTRODUCE NEW TYPES OF SERVICES

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[Text] The human factor in public production contains major possibilities of economic intensification, the utilization of which requires, above all, the strengthening of ties between economic development results and processes related to upgrading the people's living standards. Upgrading the stimulating role of monetary income as a result of a greater saturation with goods and services is particularly important. All working people must have the opportunity to make full use of each honestly earned ruble. Such is today one of the main prerequisites for high motivation for productive toil for the good of society.

The service sectors are assigned an increasingly important position in ensuring the volume and structure balancing of population solvent demand with the offering of consumer goods. Whereas today we spend between 10 and 11 rubles for services per 100 rubles spent on commodities, this figure will become substantially higher by the year 2000, a shift which appears quite attainable. However, given the current scale of economic management, this will require the additional hiring in the paid services area of several million people and capital investments in the tens of billions of rubles. It is a question of the need to enhance the economics of the service industry to a new qualitative level. The relevance of this task was emphasized at the December 1983 CPSU

Central Committee Plenum, which passed a decision on the formulation of a comprehensive program for the development of the production of consumer goods and population services within the 12th Five-Year Plan and through the year 2000 (1).

Today ensuring the accelerated expansion of the service sphere already exceeds the range of economic problems and becomes one of the key problems of social development.¹ The important social role of services is the fact that their consumption combines labor with nonproduction aspects of the way of life and its material and sociocultural aspects, subordinating consumer activities to the formation of "the entire spectrum of a rich human life" (2). The modern service industry, with its complete set of characteristics of an economic organization (which, precisely, makes it part of the economy) also combines the basic types of activities relative to the creation and reproduction of cultural values and, as such, acts as an inseparable element of the spiritual life of society. Therefore, the functioning of the service industry greatly ensures the organic integrity of basic and superstructural factors in perfecting the socialist way of life.

From the economic viewpoint, the need to develop the set of consumer goods by ensuring the faster growth of the service industry, including offering new types of services to the population, is dictated by a number of circumstances which give upgrading the volume of realization of the latter a priority position compared with the growth of trade. First of all, according to existing assessments, the degree of satisfaction of solvent demand and the need for paid services are considered in shorter supply compared to comestible and durable goods. On a national average, the population is willing to double the funds it currently spends on services. However, it is deprived of this opportunity because of the insufficient development of the service network and the limited variety and quality of services although, paralleling rising income, demand for services is growing faster than for commodities. Taking this pattern into consideration, it would be expedient to increase the availability of paid services to the population by no less than a factor of 2.5 in the next 15-20 years. Furthermore, the faster development of paid services (compared with the commodity share of the consumer budget) is consistent with the long-term tasks of perfecting the structure of consumption of material goods and services. The formulation of such problems will be based on the growing monetary income of the Soviet people, the increased territorial and professional-skill mobility of the population and expected changes in the population's structure. At the present time, as comparative estimates have indicated, the share of services in the consumer expenditures of the Soviet population is lower by a factor of 4-6 compared to a number of foreign countries (based on the same ratio between paid and free services). Yet, important material and certain sociocultural needs of the population are met by the paid services industry, the extent of satisfaction with which greatly determines the real growth of the people's well-being. Finally, the service sectors have become the main area of manifestation of not always justified methods of redistribution of the population's monetary income. Demand for fast and quality services is satisfied to a certain extent outside the framework of socially organized service activities. Therefore, in addition to its social and economic importance, the elimination of the scarcity of services is of major political significance.

In the period through the year 2000 new types of paid services should be considered one of the main links in the development of the overall service industry. This approach is supported by the following considerations.

First, the general educational and professional standards of the Soviet people and their increased orientation toward highly skilled and meaningful work, and increased monetary income, which will show significant improvement over the next 15 years, will unquestionably lead to profound changes in the organization of labor activities and leisure time use and will substantially influence the entire set of professional and general human interests as well as consumer preferences, above all in terms of the variety, volume and quality of services.

Second, the opening of additional channels for spending the population's monetary income through the development of new types of paid services is an important prerequisite for upgrading the balance between solvent demand and offer of consumer goods.

Third, the limited nature of resources makes increasingly topical in the search for possibilities of upgrading the production of services emphasizing those among them which do not require major additional outlays but essentially the implementation of organizational-legal and planning-economic measures. This condition can be met by many types of services, i.e., services which are either unavailable or have not been properly disseminated within the framework of the socially organized area of paid services and which are consistent with the socially acceptable and economically substantiated needs of the population. This includes combinations of traditional services, something new in domestic practice.

The novelty of a service is the socioeconomic category which reflects the following: a) the existing ratio between social and private forms of satisfaction of specific population requirements; b) a proportion of combining national with international standards and trends in shaping demand for services; c) the effectiveness of organizational methods of enterprise and establishment activities in the service industry, intensiveness (within the area) of intersectorial interaction, and extent of consistency between the systems of division of labor (specialization and cooperation) and population service requirements; d) ratios of paid services; e) regional differences in the variety of services offered. It is precisely the comprehensive study of these aspects which matters in substantiating steps to introduce new types of services.²

On the basis of current and expected trends in shaping demand and economic possibilities of satisfying it within the next 10 to 15 years, the following consolidated types of services, classified in terms of consumer purpose, seem promising: 1) services related to household work and care for household property; 2) services related to managing private auxiliary farms; 3) services related to organizing rest and recreation, including comprehensive services for amateur activities; 4) services contributing to the growth of education and skills, vocational guidance, job placement and professional activities; 5) services in the areas of health care and physical culture; 6) credit-financial services to the population.

The expanded list of new types of services included in these sections numbers about 90 items (see appendix). Their development is related above all to attracting additional manpower. This requires a system of organizational-economic and legal decisions aimed at expanding the special forms of employment, simplifying wage systems and job-finding procedures in cases of one-time and temporary combination of jobs, lowering the age limit of temporary workers, and extensively acquainting the population with conditions governing temporary jobs at service enterprises and establishments.

The use of flexible employment methods is determined by features of the labor process in the service industry such as the absence of a rigid technological system, uneven workload during the day, week or year, and need for additional manpower in unskilled work sectors. All of this not only allows but demands a flexibility of organizational methods which would attract additional manpower, on the one hand, and reduce working time losses of the available manpower, on the other.

The legally codified right of Soviet citizens to half-time work makes the use of a variety of methods in organizing labor activities possible, enabling us to combine work with training, recreation and household affairs. Nevertheless, the actual use of special working time schedules remains insignificant and covers approximately 0.5 percent of people with jobs in the public economy. The insufficient development of occasional, temporary and partial employment leaves outside professional activities major groups of suitably skilled manpower: no more than 3-5 percent of students attending full-time higher and secondary schools, retirees and others are employed in the public economy.³

All of this not only prevents the elimination of manpower scarcity in some rayons, sectors and skills (the service industry above all) but also limits the actual satisfaction of the need for work of some population groups. The extent of this need is confirmed by sociological studies which were made in our country and the experience of some foreign countries, where the share of people voluntarily working on a part-time basis reaches as high as 20-25 percent, particularly in the case of women, young people aged 16 to 24 and the retired.

Let us examine some specific job placement methods which presume combining a job with other types of activities or with a second job in the public economy. In our view, the following appear promising: splitting the work day; evening and night work; and one-time or temporary work during free days.

With the first system, the same slot is assigned to two or several workers who coordinate their own work schedule. This offers a variety of possibilities, such as dividing the working day or week, working half the year, etc. The schedule may be changed by agreement, depending on the need for additional income or other circumstances, which lowers the need for strict administrative control. This method is characterized by more flexible possibilities of splitting the working time compared to the practice of splitting one slot between two workers employed half-time, a method which has found limited use.

Equally promising is the development of one-time or temporary job combinations during the evening and night hours, the more so since under high employment conditions evening work in the service industry is particularly preferable for the population. In our view, students should be the main group used in this case. Selective surveys have indicated that 50 to 55 percent of all students would like to work evenings (3, p 180). A large number of jobs may be found in the various service sectors, requiring a great variety of skills, which could be performed at any time of the day. What is important is not merely to inform the population at home of such openings but also to make one-time jobs easier to get and to establish a more efficient procedure for determining the amount of work done.

A particularly promising area in the development of the service industry is expanding the volume of services (including the newly suggested varieties) during free days, essentially on the basis of temporary combination of jobs. This applies, first of all, to the various types of household and private plot work, property repairs, child and pet care, etc.; secondly, providing recreation services, such as organizing cultural events and performing services as requested by the population; third, providing information and consultation services; fourth, working at the reception centers of trade enterprises.

In our view, several circumstances should be taken into consideration in a comprehensive evaluation of possibilities of promoting this job combination method.

1. Filling orders during days off will make it possible to combine the weekly peak demand for services with offer, particularly today, when the need for recreation travel is not satisfied adequately. Many people prefer to spend their free time at home, coping with a variety of household problems.
2. It will become possible to fulfill orders placed by service enterprises by those who would like to earn more money and will improve the satisfaction of population demand for services which are in the shortest supply; most importantly, it will erect one more protection against those who steal state material resources, reduce working time losses caused by fulfilling "side" orders and limit cases of overpayment for services performed illegally.
3. Labor efficiency in the national economy will be increased thanks to the reduction of nonproduction working time losses related to trips to service enterprises, waiting at home for household repair technicians, etc.
4. Work during free days is nothing but a means of attracting individual labor to socially organized population services. In this case, it is a question of the variety of second jobs, for which reason it would be expedient to make use of this job placement method as an initial, a limited stage of the experiment in developing a planned and economic mechanism for subordinating individual labor to the interest of the state in developing the service industry.
5. Considering the not always rational use of leisure time, second jobs during free days could reduce the need for alcoholic beverages, enhance the

psychoemotional and physical tone of people holding monotonous jobs, contribute to the development of unused inclinations and creative tendencies or, in a word, become one of the sensible alternatives to "doing nothing."

6. Work performed during days off could be considered a way of working at home and a means of combining the latter with traditional labor organization methods. In some cases, for a number of categories of office personnel, scientific workers, and so on, this is a no less efficient alternative than spending the entire time working in an office, where the efficiency of mental work occasionally proves to be not too great because of distracting factors.

So far, work during free days has not become sufficiently widespread. It would be expedient, on the basis of governmental (sectorial) measures to apply on a large scale the experience of some production associations operated by republic consumer service ministries. Such measures should thoroughly regulate the range of permitted types of activities in providing population services, methods for organizing labor collectives of such workers, a procedure for including them in the plan indicators of sectorial or territorial bodies in the service industry, providing means of production and setting economic and social norms of economic activities, income, ratios between first and second jobs and others.

Involving labor reserves in the service sector should be planned on a differentiated basis, by sociodemographic and socioeconomic population groups. We must take into consideration the specific motivations for work by housewives, pensioners, full-time students in VUZs and technicums, and specialists in public production interested in holding second jobs in one form or another.

Thus, changing the ratios between daytime and evening training in favor of the former could encourage students to work in the service industry. Incidentally, this would positively affect the quality of training in secondary specialized and higher educational institutions. Recruitment of additional manpower could be stimulated by increasing the length of partial paid leave for child care for women, who combine their leave with work in services on a part-time basis. It would be expedient to adopt a more differentiated approach to setting a high pension ceiling with supplements which would vary according to the extent to which the job held by the pensioner and his skill meet the needs of society.

In the long run, between now and the year 2000, along with giving priority to mastering resource-saving (labor-saving primarily) new types of services, we should undertake the gradual development of a material and technical base for essentially new but more capital-intensive types of services, such as home cable television (using fiberoptics), electronic communications as requested by the population (Telex, photographic transmission of information, etc.), telecommunications systems for private use by assigning subscribers to automated data banks, installing and operating communications facilities in private cars (radio telephones), equipping housing with centralized air conditioning systems and developing networks of long-term parking facilities.

It is important to take into consideration in the long-range planning of consolidated national economic proportions, mainly the accumulation fund in the

national income and its sectorial distribution, that the most significant and profound changes in the level and structure of consumer services will be related to the intensive use of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in the mass consumption area. Population demand for recreation services, information and other new and progressive varieties based on a developed material and technical foundation, will increase at a faster rate. Capital investments, particularly in new equipment, will become an increasingly essential factor in securing funds for the service area.

The popularization of personal computers will play an important role in the development of the service sectors. Eventually they will become the main link of automated household communications systems and will combine, like a control center, all types of equipment used at home within a single optimized complex. The fact that "personal" computers will combine the consumption of material goods and services and radically change current ideas of dividing the set of consumer goods into two separate groups will be of major importance from the planning viewpoint. Being a commodity, the personal computer will require the reorganization of a number of types of service activities. It will require a substantial renovation of the variety of services, which will include newly developed population requirements.

The use of household computers will increase the overall volume of consumption of services, above all in the area of information, the demand for which will increase in direct proportion to the availability of technical facilities for including them in automated information systems; secondly, as a result of the partial combination of the domestic and labor human environment and the area of consumer activities. The latter will take place as a result of the fact that a certain segment of the population will be able to perform some official duties, make purchases, and benefit from professional, training and household information without leaving home. This will substantially increase the amount of available leisure time and, consequently, the overall demand for recreational and other commodities and services related to satisfying the need for more meaningful use of leisure time.

Keeping this in mind, we can anticipate the organization of combined consumer complexes based on a closely interwoven variety of goods and services aimed at satisfying similar or interrelated population requirements. This trend will require a restructuring of the organization of management. Traditional specialization in planning on the basis of goods and services and the consequent sectorial lack of coordination will have to be eliminated gradually. It will become necessary to establish a departmental structure based on the functional unity of consumer goods. One of the methods for the practical development of such a structure may be the organization of a system of coordinating bodies, such as a ministry of information and communications; a department providing centralized management in the recreation and entertainment area (also in charge of the production of some household goods, sports equipment, book publishing, etc.), a ministry of education in charge of organizing the production of technical training facilities, visual aids and textbooks; and a ministry of consumer services and production of household goods.

Updating material and technical facilities on a progressive basis and introducing new types of services will require the reorganization of the existing

sectorial structure in this area. Virtually not one of the new types of services offered can be included within one economic sector or another. Consequently, it will be necessary to strengthen the target orientation in the management of the service industry with the final objective of ensuring the fast qualitative and economically efficient satisfaction of all consecutive and interdependent needs of the population for services. Most of them include fully heterogeneous activities from the economic viewpoint. Automobile servicing, for example, ranges from repairs to legal and insurance services; daily leisure time and recreation includes household services and public catering; vocational guidance and job placement involves health care, transportation, the housing-communal economy and schools. Consequently, ensuring the comprehensive satisfaction of population requirements will necessitate a substantial intensification of intersectorial interaction in this area. It would be difficult to organize this within a sectorial management structure, albeit a most perfect one. The functional unity of heterogeneous types of services should be encouraged on the level of an economic mechanism which would be of interest to the agencies managing the service industry and, naturally, enterprises and establishments within "the single roof" of an association providing all types of services which, from the consumer's viewpoint, are interrelated, taking flexibly into consideration the characteristics of "natural" chains of services based on the sociodemographic or socioeconomic type of consumers in a given area, seasonal demand, type of settlement and other factors.

The existence of a substantiated assessment of demand is a major prerequisite for systematically mastering new types of paid services. Forecast modeling in this area is hindered by the fact that traditional methods (statistical, standardizing) are hardly applicable due to the lack of accountability data on the volume of marketing and ideas on the rational need for many types of services which have either not been offered previously or not become sufficiently popular. This would make the use of indirect guidelines expedient: volume of population solvent demand for one type of service or another outside socially organized services; attained and projected volume of marketing services which replace or substantiate new types of services of interest to us; trends and structure of consumption of nonmaterial goods abroad, where promising types of services are already being provided.

Any assessment of expected demand can be adequately substantiated only by comprehensively linking promising development trends in the service industry with the enumerated guidelines. Obviously, the extent of the consideration of each one of them within the overall assessment should be differentiated with the help of weight coefficients, determined by experts separately for each new type of service.

The model of forecasting solvent population demand for new services may be the base for a sufficiently objective assessment of corresponding rational needs.

The future offering of new types of services is determined both by the production possibilities of the service industry and the readiness of the population to change existing consumer and behavioral stereotypes. Many of the services offered in the future will profoundly "invade" the human living environment, urging it in a way to "socialize" some aspects of human life within sensible

limits. This will contribute to the faster and more efficient solution of economic problems, the enrichment of leisuretime activities, enhanced intercourse standards, etc. However, it would also be natural to expect a psychological rejection of some services. Home deliveries, the leasing of home appliances, the joint utilization (by floor, in the entrance hall or for the entire house) of expensive or cumbersome home appliances, comprehensive food services offered at the place of residence, help in housing maintenance and some types of consultation services (such as family planning and social acquaintanceships) may meet with a lack of understanding and be interpreted as a threat to the "privacy" of the personal environment or an attempt to limit the individual tastes and freedom of choice of consumers.

It would be natural to expect manifestations of a "symmetrical" problem, as a result of which some types of services will be eliminated because of the unwillingness excessively to individualize traditionally social forms of use of some services. Such a psychological situation could hinder the development of cable communications systems which will provide the subscriber with a strictly individualized set of programs and wide access to information within the home.

The development of services, the use of which will demand of the population the skill to handle quite complex equipment (the new communications systems above all) would be inconceivable without laying the foundations for a universal high technical standard. In turn, the latter may be established only as a structural component of universal human standards, i.e., it must be developed starting at an age when the individual begins to acquire fundamental concepts of the surrounding world. In other words, even though it may be an objective process as a whole, the restructuring of consumer preferences in favor of the new services will require the active regulating influence of society. The principles and trends of such regulating may be formulated and implemented at the proper time only by coordinating the efforts of economists, sociologists and psychologists.

The development of the new types of paid services should not affect the socially significant population requirements, the free satisfaction of which is based on the nature of the socialist production relations. It is assumed, therefore, that the new services will complement the traditional ones or create essentially new types of consumer demand.

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FOOTNOTES

1. By presenting in this article a sociological assessment of the contemporary significance of the service industry, we are continuing the discussion this journal initiated on problems of the interconnection between the growth of the people's well-being and the trends of perfecting the way of life in developed socialist society (see 4) in particular).
2. In our view, such a study should be developed subsequently. The purpose of this article, which is largely a formulation of the problem, is to outline the range of basic problems existing in this area and to earmark some approaches to their solution.
3. Authors' evaluation with the help of (3, pp 6, 173).

Appendix

New and Not Widespread Types of Population Services Suggested as Part of a Comprehensive Program for the Development of the Production of Consumer Goods and Services

<u>Type of Service</u>	<u>Sector Within Which New Types of Services Can Be Organized</u>	<u>Period of Assimilation of New Services*</u>
I. Services Related to Household Chores and Household Property Maintenance		
Layout, finishing and installation of house interiors based on individual orders:	Household population services, trade	I
a) Interior layout; b) Comprehensive consultations on purchasing household and consumer objects; c) Finishing operations based on individual orders during the house construction stage and occupancy preparations; d) Comprehensive leasing of furniture and household items		
Transportation-shipment services within the population services and trade systems:	Trade, household population services, communications	I-II

<u>Type of Service</u>	<u>Sector Within Which New Types of Services Can Be Organized</u>	<u>Period of Assimilation of New Services*</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Home pickups of bottles and waste raw materials; b) Accepting orders for shopping and household services at home; c) Home deliveries of goods and services performed by consumer service enterprises; d) Daily home deliveries of staple food products and correspondence (on an individual or subscription basis); e) Communal refrigerators, freezers, washing machines and dryers (floor, entrance hall, house or house operations service) 		
Services for population employment in manufacturing household items, transportation, household equipment and applied arts	Home services to the population and industry	I-II
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Leasing workshop premises and/or equipment by the hour; b) Leasing small equipment, instruments and tools; c) Consultations on planning and execution problems 		
Household library service:	Household services to population, culture, trade	I
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Inventorying and layout plans; b) Binding and other book restoration work; c) Artistic designing and printing of book labels; d) Help in book selling or trading 		
Comprehensive organizing and servicing of family undertakings:	Household services to the population, public catering, culture	I-II
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Comprehensive restaurant home delivery services; 		

<u>Type of Service</u>	<u>Sector Within Which New Types of Services Can Be Organized</u>	<u>Period of Assimilation of New Services*</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> b) Printing and distributing invitations; c) Providing motor vehicles; d) Artistic performing services 		
House maintenance and care for children during periods of temporary absence of house owners:	Population household services	I
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Mail collection, telephone messages, carrying out urgent assignments in the absence of the house owners; b) Apartment cleaning and care for plants; c) Household pet care; d) Babysitting service (extensive, fast and easily accessible) 		
Engineering-consultation population services and automotive servicing:	Population household, trade and insurance services	I
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Customized architectural designing; b) Consultations on procedures for the operation of household equipment and care for household property; c) Commodity information; d) Automotive-related services (towing, insurance, etc.); e) Automobile service subscription (round-the-clock, first come, first served basis, with increased convenience at no additional cost) 		

II. Services Related to Private Plots

Services related to production and marketing activities by the population from their private plots:	Population household, agriculture, trade, procurement and transportation services	I
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) leasing farm tools, garden tractors, motors and tools; 		

<u>Type of Service</u>	<u>Sector Within Which New Types of Services Can Be Organized</u>	<u>Period of Assimilation of New Services*</u>
b) preventive repair servicing of truck gardening equipment owned and used by citizens; c) comprehensive services in marketing private plot output; d) Storing household produce; e) Comprehensive aid to the population in harvesting the gifts of nature and their transportation to procurement centers		

III. Rest and Recreation Organization Services

Comprehensive hobby services:	Population household, culture and art services	I
a) Leasing filming and laboratory, montage and projection equipment; b) Organizing collectors' clubs (exchange centers) with paid entrance, using the facilities of culture houses; c) Organizing membership hobby clubs based on libraries with specialized book stocks, museums, lecture halls and other cultural and educational institutions; d) Leasing theater props based on individual requirements; e) Comprehensive services to hunters; f) Paid literary consultations		
Daily leisure and recreation services:	Population household, culture, art and public catering services	I-II
a) Motion picture and record public use libraries (short-term leasing); b) Duplicating music records by population order; c) Leasing sports equipment;		

<u>Type of Service</u>	<u>Sector Within Which New Types of Services Can Be Organized</u>	<u>Period of Assimilation of New Services*</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> d) Theater-entertainment measures based on operating theaters and concert halls when not in use (costume balls, theater performances, topic evenings, etc.); e) Games and attraction services (billiards, bowling, electronic games, topic entertainment sets; sports-entertainment lottery games; halls for group or individual listening to high-quality sound recordings; f) Leasing motion pictures, combined with lectures, theater-concert and entertainment forms of cultural services, continuous motion picture shows (ticket prices vary by film category and forms of projection organization); g) Discotheques; h) Membership clubs offering comprehensive sports-treatment, cultural, restaurant and other services 		
Travel services:	Population household, housing-communal economy, transportation and health care services	I-II
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Procurement of vouchers (based on stipulated norms for the use of health institutions) for sanatoriums, rest homes and travel; b) Renting from the local population, with the agreement of the latter, and in accordance with state rules, housing for temporary use in resort zones and tourist centers; c) Providing food and other household services to vacationers, using the local population; d) Leasing motor vehicles at the vacation site for tourist trips and other purposes; 		

<u>Type of Service</u>	<u>Sector Within Which New Types of Services Can Be Organized</u>	<u>Period of Assimilation of New Services*</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> e) Developing specialized recreation transportation (ski lifts, water skiing, cruise ships, etc.) f) Drive-in movies and public catering services; g) Hotel rooms and waiting rooms with sleeping facilities, paid by the hour, in railroad stations and airports; h) Public storage lockers in commercial complexes, mass recreation areas, etc. 		

IV. Services Contributing to the Growth of Education and Skills,
Vocational Guidance, Job Placement and Professional
Activities of the Population

Education services:	Education, culture	I
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Training-pedagogical consultations (individual and group tutoring); b) Consultations by scientific and technical sector for all; c) Developing behavioral habits, business relations, oratorical skills, proper dressing, etc.; d) Sunday family courses; e) Child care courses; f) Translation and reference bureaus based on population requests and translation services in libraries 		
Vocational guidance, job placement and professional activity services:	Education, health care, transportation, housing and communal economy	I-II
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Vocational guidance consultations; b) Psychological certification for job suitability; c) Job placement agencies; d) Individual or collective leasing of motor vehicles (including departmental) for business trips; e) Automated service for housing and housing exchanges 		

<u>Type of Service</u>	<u>Sector Within Which New Types of Services Can Be Organized</u>	<u>Period of Assimilation of New Services*</u>
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V. Health Care and Physical Culture Services

Health care services	Health care	I-II
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- a) Sanatorium-type hospitals for chronically ill or recovering patients;
- b) Express laboratories for comprehensive analytical tests;
- c) X-ray centers;
- d) Nutrition medical consultations;
- e) Massage parlors;
- f) Family planning service;
- g) Special encounters service

Physical culture services:	Health care, physical culture and sports	I-II
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- a) "Body care complexes"-- sports premises with a complete set of gymnastics equipment and simulators (occasional use or by subscription);
- b) Aerobics;
- c) Medical-hygiene services in baths, swimming pools and sports complexes (medical massage, rest rooms, general physical training halls, etc.)

VI. Credit by Financial Population Services

Development of consumer credit on the basis of extensively differentiated conditions by income, sociodemographic and other features of the beneficiaries:	Finances, insurance, trade, social security	I-II-III
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- a) Consumer credit information;
- b) Setting up funds for voluntary self-insurance for old age, illness and incapacity;
- c) Automated payments

<u>Type of Service</u>	<u>Sector Within Which New Types of Services Can Be Organized</u>	<u>Period of Assimilation of New Services*</u>
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VII. Communications Services

Population information services:	Communications, consumer population services	II-III
a) Xeroxing, microfilming and other types of reproduction request by the population;		
b) Domestic cable television using power and fiberoptic cables;		
c) Electronic communications by population request (Telex, photographic transmission, etc.)		
d) Telecommunications for individual use (connecting subscribers to automated data banks--catalogues provided by libraries, stores, transportation services, etc.)		
e) Installing and operating communications facilities in private automotive transportation (radiotelephones)		

* The offered services have been classified into three categories by time of possible availability: I--to be provided in the 12th Five-Year Plan; II--to be provided between 1991 and the year 2000; III--initiating between 1991 and the year 2000 laying the material and technical material base with a view to mastering the respective services.

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FURTHER IMPROVEMENT OF IDEOLOGICAL, GENERAL THEORETICAL AND SPECIALIZED
TRAINING OF POSTGRADUATE STUDENTS AND CANDIDATES FOR A SCIENTIFIC DEGREE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 84
(signed to press 25 Oct 84) pp 72-77

[Article by Viktor Grigor'yevich Kirillov-Ugryumov, doctor of physical and mathematical sciences, professor, chairman of the VAK [Higher Certification Commission] of the USSR Council of Ministers. Article based on the author's report submitted at the 20 June 1984 USSR VAK [Higher Certification Commission] Plenum]

[Text] Upgrading the quality of scientific research is the key to resolving the party's task of intensifying the practical effectiveness of science and enhancing its role in building communism. This requires, above all, a radical improvement in the system of training scientific cadres. This question was already raised in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA. Bearing its importance in mind, the journal will systematically publish materials on experience and prospects in this area.

As the resolutions of the 26th Party Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee Plenums emphasize, the main trend in the party's activities at the present stage is perfecting developed socialism. In this process a particular role is assigned to science which has become today a highly effective production force and an arena of competition between the two global systems.

The increased role of science is paralleled by the increased number of scientific and scientific-pedagogical workers. Currently some 1.5 million people are involved in scientific work, including more than 40,000 doctors and more than 400,000 candidates of sciences. Almost half of all scientists are in the technical sciences. Every year, more than 2,000 doctoral and 23,000 candidate dissertations are defended. Nevertheless, we are still short of cadres with a higher qualification. The need for such cadres is by no means fully satisfied in scientific institutions and higher educational establishments in Siberia, the Far East and some other parts of the country. There is a shortage of research cadres, particularly doctors of sciences, in the scientific institutions of ministries and departments. Nor should we ignore the average age of doctors of sciences, which has risen in recent years.

The main thing, however, is less the quantity than the quality of training of doctors and candidates of sciences. The USSR VAK considers improving the

ideological, general-theoretical and specialized training of candidates for scientific degrees the most important structural component of perfecting cadre certification. As early as 1978 the USSR VAK Plenum considered the question of upgrading the standards of general scientific and theoretical training of candidates and the role of candidate examinations. It is precisely candidate examinations which must accurately establish the depth of professional knowledge of the candidate, the extent of mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory and the scope of his scientific and cultural outlook. The first unified programs for candidate examinations in all subjects were introduced 8 years ago. The "Instruction on the Procedure for Holding Candidate Examinations" (4), which was issued at that time, helped to upgrade the role of examinations as a state certification act and the responsibility of those who administered and who took the tests.

At the present time the ideological training of candidates for scientific degrees must be raised to a higher level. The candidate test in dialectical and historical materialism plays a special role in this connection. "Developing a Marxist-Leninist outlook is the inviolable foundation of communist upbringing. The profound mastery by all party members and working people of the revolutionary doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin, which is the key to attaining and resolving the most complex problems of social development, is important," emphasizes the decree of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum (1). Proper knowledge of dialectical and historical materialism not only broadens the conceptual horizon and strengthens the class tempering of the scientist but also gives him the only proper method for the study of phenomena in nature and society and human thought. However, this is not always sufficiently considered in cadre training, as confirmed by major shortcomings in the preparations for and administering candidate examinations. Selective investigations conducted by the USSR VAK have proved that frequently postgraduate students and candidates for degrees are poorly familiar with the material for the candidate philosophy examination and that the chairs have a formalistic approach to its organization and tend to give higher grades. Thus, for example, in the autumn 1983 session, about 20 percent of the candidates were given a failing and 40 percent a passing mark in the candidate test on dialectical and historical materialism at the Kazakh Pedagogical Institute imeni Abay. The records furthermore show that a passing grade was frequently given by the commission even when the student was unable to answer all the questions on the examination paper. The examination papers themselves are not always drafted suitably. For example, postgraduate students at the Moscow State Conservatory were asked to discuss the following question: "Contemporary bourgeois philosophy is the ideological reflection of the general crisis of capitalism. Irreconcilability between Marxist and bourgeois outlooks." It is clear that with such a formulation of the question the answer could be quite abstract and loose.

The questions asked in examinations in philosophy, CPSU history, political economy and other social sciences should be closely related to the topical problems of our time and the tasks included in party documents. Problems of the economic substantiation of scientific conclusions and recommendations assume particular importance in the defense of applied dissertations. Yet the economic knowledge of postgraduate students and candidates is by no means

always subject to proper attention. As a result, many of the dissertations are in the nature of "pious wishes" and do not include economic substantiations for the solutions offered. Nor is the method used in determining the economic efficiency of the application of results of a research project developed quite efficiently in all cases. The result is that frequently the figures quoted do not reflect the actual state of affairs. For example, the USSR Committee for People's Control determined that in 10 dissertations completed at the Moscow Electrical Engineering Institute of Communications economic benefits in excess of 1 million rubles were estimated although, in reality, they could not attain even 20,000 rubles.

The USSR VAK must implement to the fullest extent the stipulations of the CPSU Central Committee decree on the work of the USSR AN [Academy of Sciences] Institute of Economics (2). A great deal has already been accomplished in this area. The USSR VAK Collegium recommended that in the next review of standard programs for candidate examinations stricter requirements concerning the economic training of future candidates of sciences be stipulated. The scientific councils of VUZs and scientific research institutes have been asked to expand the program for candidate examinations in this subject, such as to meet these requirements.

Practical experience has included the following question as well in the agenda: is it justified for the test to be on philosophy alone? Marxism-Leninism is an integral scientific outlook and the scientist should master all of its components: dialectical and historical materialism, political economy and scientific communism. Consequently, it should be a question of a single test on the foundations of Marxism-Leninism.

Ideological and political education work with postgraduate students and candidates may not be reduced to social science tests. The entire psychological atmosphere in the research collective plays a tremendous role in the development of the future scientist. It is precisely within the collective, in the course of stressed work that the specialist develops. It is here that he masters not only the secrets of professional skill but the moral norms of scientific intercourse as well.

Nor should we forget the pedagogical skills of the teachers and the personality of the scientific adviser. For example, is it exclusively the successes of our science due to the accomplishments of academician I. V. Kurchatov which can explain the research talent of this outstanding scientist? No, he possessed the equally great talent of organizer of collective work. We know that Igor Vasil'yevich Kurchatov was in charge of the nuclear program in our country. He ascribed particular importance to the part of the program dealing with the training of young skilled cadres, who could ensure the future of science and technology in this sector.

The essence of his system for training engineering cadres was the profound study of basic disciplines which may seem to have no direct connection with practical activities. However, they provided a solid foundation for the subsequent study of applied sciences and made future independent qualification improvements possible. Scientific work was an inseparable part of student

curriculums. I. V. Kurchatov's closest assistants, who were directly in charge of the various scientific parts of the nuclear problem, lectured the future engineers. An atmosphere of reciprocal respect and interest in the success of the joint project was an essential element of the Kurchatov school.

Practical sociopolitical work of postgraduate students and candidates is an efficient method for integrating research activities with ideological and political education. Their participation in the collective's sociopolitical life energizes the creative process and contribute to the solution of topical scientific problems.

In reviewing its candidate examination programs, the USSR VAK requested the leading scientific research institutions and VUZs to submit suggestions on amendments and supplements to the programs. These suggestions were discussed in advance at sectorial conferences and scientific meetings and seminars. The reworked minimal programs were approved by expert councils and subsequently ratified by the USSR VAK Collegium. It can be said that the current programs are essentially consistent with their purpose and are positively rated by the scientific public. Nevertheless, they require further improvements. In many subjects the volume of the minimum program is such that it is virtually impossible to interpret the recommended reading and take a single test on the subject. Obviously, we must not limit the number of tests or, at least, not reduce the test to answering the questions in a single paper.

In the past the machine-mathematical department of Moscow State University applied the following practice: the candidate took several tests administered by his scientific adviser and the examiners and only then was he admitted to the final examination. The purpose of the system was to turn the candidates into broad specialists. What is more effective? Several tests and one final examination or several examinations in one's subject? The question is topical and requires a comprehensive discussion.

We believe that subsequent to the approval of the new "Nomenclature of Specialties of Scientific Workers," approved by the State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR VAK expert councils should review once again critically the program for candidate examinations in the light of speeding up scientific and technical progress and improving the theoretical and specialized training of scientific cadres, while avoiding overloading the program of the single examination.

The effectiveness of scientific developments greatly depends on mastering contemporary research methods, computers in particular. The USSR VAK Plenum decree "On Upgrading the Role of Certification of Scientific and Scientific-Pedagogical Cadres in the Intensification of Scientific and Technical Progress" (5) drew the attention of the scientific public to problems of the specialized training of postgraduate students and degree candidates to work with computers. The USSR VAK recommended that the candidate examination in the respective specialty include a part on computers. In the future the mastery of the foundations of applied mathematics will be the subject of a separate test. Naturally, this requires the drafting of a program (or programs) consistent with the nature of the scientific work of the candidate.

The experience of many VUZs, scientific research institutes and scientific production associations, which was summed up in its time by the USSR VAK Collegium, indicates that such a test could be administered starting with the very beginning of the next five-year plan.

Suggestions have been made to administer a special test on pedagogical practice as well. We know that the main source of reinforcements of higher school teachers is the institution of VUZ postgraduate students. Postgraduate study curriculums call for a 50-hour course in education. We believe, however, that this aspect of their professional training is still substantially behind contemporary requirements. A test on educational practice, the structural components of which could be demonstration classes taught by the candidate, and a review of the summary of his lectures and method developments, would unquestionably enhance the responsibility of the system of postgraduate studies for the teaching of education skills.

The second part of the candidate examination program plays a significant role in the specialized training of postgraduate students and candidates. Let us recall that the minimum program essentially includes established concepts in one field of knowledge or another, whereas the second part reflects the latest achievements, hypotheses, and scientific research trends. Usually, the second part of the program is drafted by the respective chairs, laboratories and departments and approved by the scientific councils. As a rule, it is amended twice annually by including the latest scientific results and updating the bibliography. However, such work is frequently reduced to the mechanical adding of information, as a result of which the program becomes unjustifiably overloaded.

There have been cases in which programs have been drafted and candidate examinations have been administered in which the main questions in the area are directly related to the topic on which the candidate is working. In such cases, a test on a general scientific discipline turns into a test on the materials of the dissertation, which is totally inadmissible.

The candidate examinations include those administered to candidates with an education inconsistent with the branch of science in which the dissertation is defended. The purpose of the supplementary candidate examination is to determine the candidate's knowledge not only of specialized but of general scientific and methodological problems and the history of the establishment and development of the specific scientific area. Some experience has been gained in preparing the candidates for such additional tests. Lectures and seminars on the respective disciplines are offered in a number of VUZs. For example, postgraduate students and candidates without philosophical training may attend lecture courses at Moscow State University and the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy on their subject. The CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences offers a two-semester course for candidates lacking basic history training. However, at this point we can no longer limit ourselves to such methods which, naturally, do not compensate for the lack of basic knowledge. It would be expedient, therefore, to make fuller use of independent work by the dissertation writers, controlled by the scientific advisers and subject to tests which would become a prerequisite for admitting the candidates to the supplementary examination.

The question of candidates lacking higher economic training, preparing to defend a dissertation in economics, was considered by the USSR VAK Presidium in November 1983. A corresponding instruction was issued. The measures it stipulates are aimed at improving the general theoretical training of the candidates. However, this problem is not limited to economic sciences. A situation in which the dissertation writers lack higher education in the area of their topic is characteristic of other scientific branches as well such as, for example, sociology, education, ethics and aesthetics. Obviously, the time has come to consider this question in terms of all disciplines. In particular, stricter control is needed over preparations for the defense of a doctoral dissertation by an individual with the scientific degree of candidate of sciences in another subject. A possible variant here could be predefense talks between the members of the specialized council and the candidate, to determine the level of the latter's theoretical and methodical training in the scientific area in which he will defend his dissertation. The results of such talks should be considered in awarding a scientific degree. Equally noteworthy is the suggestion of administering a preliminary examination on the new scientific area to specific candidate groups.

The time within which candidate examinations may be taken is of great importance in upgrading the level of ideological, general theoretical and specialized training of postgraduate students and candidates. As we know, currently there is no time limit. However, the pace of scientific development has accelerated. Therefore, the "Regulation on the Procedure for Awarding Scientific Degrees and Earning Scientific Titles" (6) calls for updating candidate examination programs every 3 years. Should one award a scientific degree to a specialist whose views on the state of his science are 15 years old? The answer to this question can only be negative.

There were almost 100,000 candidates in January 1984. In 1983 16 percent of VUZ and scientific research institute graduate students, who had completed their training, defended their dissertations and 36 percent submitted theirs. Candidate dissertations submitted by postgraduate students and individuals who have completed their graduate studies, approved by the USSR VAK, account for about 60 percent of the total. The study of the topics on which the candidates worked indicates that many of them are related to comprehensive scientific and technical target programs. However, major shortcomings exist in the field of postgraduate students. Many of the dissertations are noted for their narrow topic, lack of scientific novelty and insignificant results. The investigation conducted by the expert council of the VAK in the legal and philosophical sciences indicate that to one extent or another such shortcomings apply to sociological dissertations as well. Furthermore, we should point out that applied aspects of sociological studies, which are the most valuable in terms of practical work, are still being poorly developed.

The study of doctoral dissertations revealed the following trends in ISI [Institute of Sociological Research] works. Above all, there was a noticeable predominance of works on the history of philosophy and dialectical and historical materialism, compared with dissertations of an applied nature. The following question arises: Why not sum up the results of empirical studies on the theoretical level or, in other words, why not do the work for the sake of which the USSR AN ISI was specifically created?

Dissertation work clearly reflected the shortcomings indicated by the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Nor could we fail to note the low standards of some candidate dissertations on applied sociological topics: the empirical data on which the researcher has based his work are sometimes subject to serious doubts, for they were obtained with the help of means clearly not impeccable from the methodological viewpoint. In some cases the researcher has ignored achievements in related disciplines.

Scientific advisers bear great responsibility for the level of training of those seeking the scientific degree of candidate of sciences in terms of the quality of the research. The "Regulation on the Procedure for Awarding Scientific Degrees and Earning Scientific Titles" (6) stipulates that the scientific adviser for a candidate project must be a doctor of sciences and only in exceptional cases, a candidate. In reality, this stipulation is not always observed. We must point out that in many VUZs and scientific research institutes scientific advisers limit their functions merely to helping in work on a dissertation, not paying sufficient attention to the general scientific training of the postgraduate student. Therefore, increasing the responsibility of scientific advisers and controlling their work with postgraduate students and candidates more closely are necessary prerequisites for upgrading the quality of scientific cadres.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures To Intensify Scientific and Technical Progress in the National Economy" (3) notes the need for the type of economic and moral steps which would create an interest in updating equipment and technology on the part of anyone engaged in their creation and practical utilization. Naturally, it is not mandatory for such people to have scientific degrees. However, we are concerned by efforts to pit those who work on dissertations and who, allegedly, are trying to secure for themselves nothing but a high salary, against those who "for reasons of modesty" refuse to seek a scientific degree, encountered in publications. Such contraposition is wrong. For the information of those who think thus, today a head engineer in a scientific research institute or senior scientific associate without a degree could earn more than a specialist with a degree. Equally erroneous is the view that a scientist with a degree is paid more only because of it, rather than because of his work. The fact that the results of the work done by specialists with scientific degrees and, incidentally, without such degrees, is not always consistent with contemporary requirements, is a different matter. We must comprehensively encourage skill enhancement and upgrade the reputation of the scientist. Increasing the efficiency of moral and material incentives for end labor results is of prime significance in this case.

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DETERMINING THE AGE LIMIT OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

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[Text] Age groups do not consist of young people and pensioners only. However, for some reason researchers in our country have focused their main attention precisely on them. So far, intermediary groups have remained understudied. This hinders the creation of a unified theory of the life cycle, the study of generational interrelationships and forecasting behavioral motivations and needs of the individual in passing from one age group to another. As T. M. Yaroshenko justifiably points out, "whereas the points (the critical points, the limits of age groups) relative to childhood and youth are quite strictly substantiated...and, in that sense, are unquestionable, in the case of subsequent age groups (through the age of 55) expert views are more of a speculative nature and to a considerable extent provide only an approximate idea of the characteristic features of that age group" (1).

In our view, the most topical is the classification and study of specific age groups of the employed active age population, i.e., between 16 and 59 years of age. We can distinguish within it at least three basic groups different in terms of professional-qualification features, needs and reasons for activities, interests and sociopsychological features: young people and people in the mature and senior age group. The division of the active population into three age groups consistent with the logic of human establishment and development in the course of labor activities, is supported by many researchers, such as A. G. Vishnevskiy, B. Ts. Uralnis, Z. G. Frenkel' and Ye. I. Stezhenskaya. The need for such studies is dictated not only by theoretical interests but by requirements of a purely practical nature related to the choice of means for the most efficient utilization of labor resources. We know that our country's

population, including that which is employed, is aging. This decade the people in the 40-59-year age group will account for maximal employment. The researchers must gather and comprehensively interpret data on the socioeconomic characteristics of the labor activities, needs and labor incentives applicable to people within this age group.

Sociologists who study the work features of the senior age group begin by encountering a number of unresolved methodological problems, above all in setting the age group limits. Although basically supporting the classification of the employed population into three groups, scientists still hold different views on the subject of terminology. Thus, B. Ts. Urlanis characterizes them as youth, maturity and late maturity (2). American scientists use the classification of early, main and middle working age (3). E. Rosset classifies the active population into junior, middle and senior groups (4). In our view, such definition disparities are explained by the fact that some authors consider the period of labor activeness inseparable from all human life, without singling out within it a special research target, whereas others consider it as a quite separate period. We believe that the labor period should be considered a special study topic but that its accurate gradation by age is possible only by including the entire set of sociopsychological laws governing the development of the individual.

Three main viewpoints may be singled out relative to the line of demarcation of the senior age group of the employed active population: the one expressed by B. Ts. Urlanis, according to which this should apply to individuals between the ages of 45 and 59 (2, p 41); the classification suggested by Ye. I. Stezhenskaya, who includes in this group people between the ages of 40 and 59 (5); finally, I. A. Chudinov's age gradation, according to which the senior group includes people from the age of 50 to retirement age (6). The age gradation suggested by Urlanis is based on economic results of production activities. The author, who uses it as a criterion, proceeds from the assumption that aging, which reduces the ability to work, is manifested also in reduced labor productivity. However, latest physiological research has established that this correlation is not always straight, for high labor productivity also depends on experience, skill and will power and may be preserved regardless of age. The age limits suggested by Stezhenskaya are based on purely physiological studies, where Chudinov's are based on demographic research, difficult to apply in sociological studies.

In substantiating the boundaries between age groups, sociology has traditionally used several methods essentially tested in youth studies. This includes, above all, the study of the dynamics of labor efficiency, professional accomplishments and hierarchy in the labor collective. However, work efficiency is not an accurate reduction criterion, for the process of professional accomplishments as well may be the result of previous efforts. Another trend involves the study of the economic activeness of the population, determined in terms of the level of employment in the national economy. In our view, this indicator as well cannot serve as an accurate criterion in defining the lower limit of the senior age groups, for, unless pathological in nature, the beginning of aging could hardly be a reason for retirement. Conversely, as a number of researchers have confirmed, to the aging person work becomes an

even more necessary element in his life. Finally, some researchers draw age limits on the basis of the dynamics of social roles. The use of this indicator was substantiated by I. S. Kon, who believes that "...age is a criterion of employment or abandoning specific social roles.... The range of social roles accessible to individuals belonging to different age strata varies in terms of quality...and quantity (a greater number of occupations is available to a 25-year-old compared to the 18-year-old, an accessibility which once again diminishes with old age)" (3, p 81).

In our view, this criterion could indeed be determining in establishing the lower limit of the senior age group: the aging of the body lowers the capacity to work and the customary work is done with an excessive stress of the physiological systems of the body, causing overtiredness and increased morbidity. This leads to changes in the value orientations in the labor area. Favorable working conditions, which enable the person to remain healthy, assume priority in the system of reasons for satisfaction with one's work (7). This circumstance forces the person to find a profession which is better suited to the level of his ability to work and more consistent with changed labor motivations. This is reinforced by reasons of a psychological nature: unwillingness to fall behind the young in terms of labor productivity under the conditions of an inevitable decline in work capacity.

It is universally acknowledged today that the "ability to work" category (the opposite of "fatigue") is not purely physiological but has a complex sociobiological nature, and on this basis the substantiation of our criterion is entirely legitimate. This is confirmed by the study of the age breakdown of people employed in the leading economic sectors--machine building and metal processing--as shown in the table. Thus, in 1959 the employment of the generation born between 1920 and 1929 for all professions studied was significantly higher than in 1970, when the members of this group reached the 40-49-year-old category. In individual cases this group declined to 40 percent. Compared with 1959, employment of the 1910-1919 generation had declined by more than one-half in 1970 in some cases. However, it had increased in the category of unskilled and auxiliary workers. For example, in terms of 1,000 people employed as loading workers, among people born between 1920 and 1929, it rose from 257 in 1959 to 274 in 1970, and the number of people working as common laborers and warehouse workers increased from 216 to 256.

It is entirely obvious that a mass change of profession takes place when the 30-39-year-old age group becomes the 40-49-year old age group, which is a feature of aging. The task is to establish the beginning of this process with adequate accuracy. The age at which the largest number of people change professions will be the lower limit of the senior age group. The table shows that this is practically impossible to determine at the present time because of the type of age group intervals used in population censuses.

A study was made at the machine-building enterprises in Novosibirsk, where workers of a certain age group, who had changed professions for one reason or another, were studied. The study of these reasons was the base for determining the critical age when a change in profession begins, as a result of excessive fatigue, i.e., when the symptoms of aging begin to appear. The

study included people aged from 36 (an earlier beginning of aging is unlikely) to 50, in which aging features are quite clearly marked. The selective study included 50 to 60 people of each age (individuals without major health complaints), which, as numerous studies have indicated, is a perfectly adequate number for reliable conclusions. The study established that the percentage of people who changed jobs because of fatigue was the following: age 36, 8.9 percent; 37, 5 percent; 38, 10.5 percent; 39, 7.1 percent; 40, 15.5 percent; 41, 18.9 percent; 42, 23.6 percent; 43, 20 percent; 44, 27.5 percent; 45, 27.1 percent; 46, 26.3 percent; 47, 38.3 percent; 48, 31.6 percent; 49, 41.6 percent and 50, 28 percent. These data show that 40-year-old workers who changed professions for that reason were more than double the number of people belonging to the preceding age group. Our data are confirmed by materials from other studies, that of V. S. Kogan in particular (9). Therefore, the number of people who changes professions after the age of 40 because of changed labor motivations (increased fatigue, desire to preserve their ability to work in health), which showed a substantial increase, leads us to believe that it is precisely at that age that the symptoms of aging begin to appear and that it is precisely the age of 40 which could be taken as the lower limit of senior age workers.

Employment in Basic Machine Building and Metal-Processing Skills
According to Age in 1959 and 1970, per thousand people*

<u>Year of Birth</u>	<u>Age at 1959</u>	<u>Census 1970</u>	<u>Engaged Primarily in Physiological Work</u>	<u>Turners</u>	<u>Milling Machine Operators</u>	<u>Fitters, Assemblers of Equipment and Instruments</u>	<u>Tuners & Setters of Equipment and Instruments</u>
1930-1939	20-29	30-39	437	501	514	521	354
1920-1929	30-39	40-49	283	236	241	268	315
1910-1919	40-49	50-59	65	41	31	72	86

* Computation based on 1959 and 1970 all-union population censuses (8).

The limits of the other age groups (young people between 16 and 29 years of age and mature people, aged 30-39) are not questioned and are used in all studies. We can now consider as proven that the senior group of the employed able-bodied population should consist of people between the ages of 40 and 59, and it is precisely this gradation that sociologists could use in their work.

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MATERIAL WELL-BEING AND SOCIAL PROSPERITY: INDICATOR DRAWING AND STUDY OF INTERCONNECTIONS

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(signed to press 25 Oct 84) pp 88-93

[Article by V. Kh. Bigulov, A. O. Kryshtanovskiy and A. S. Michurin. The authors work at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research. Vladimir Kharitonovich Bigulov is a postgraduate student in the sector of general and regional problems of the way of life. Aleksandr Olegovich Khryshtanvskiy is senior engineer, department of methodical and information support for sociological research. The name A. S. Michurin is a pseudonym. This is the authors' first publication in our journal]

[Text] The resolutions of the 26th Party Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums contained a conclusion of basic importance to the effect that Soviet society is at the start of a historically lengthy stage of developed socialism, one of the main laws of which is establishing a classless social structure. The elimination of socioclass differences does not mean the abolishment of social differences in general. On the contrary, the elimination of socioeconomic inequality opens extensive opportunities for improving the way of life, including its increased differentiation on the basis of individual-typical features of personal activities. It is a question above all of relatively reducing the dependence of the subjective sphere of the way of life on the social status and material well-being of the individual.

On the basis of empirical data obtained in the course of the all-union sociological study of the way of life of Soviet people (1980-1981, directed by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Prof I. T. Levykin), we shall try here to compare indicators of material living standards and assessments of the satisfaction of the population in some parts of the country with this standard. Let us immediately point out that the equalizing of material well-being, both from the viewpoint of socioclass structure and in its national-regional aspect, is combined with a significant differentiation among subjective evaluations of well-being. "Unlike material and spiritual prosperity, the dynamics of which is reflected in impersonal social statistical indicators, well-being is the result of a subjective evaluation of the attained level and quality of life," I. T. Levykin writes. "It would be simplistic to consider the connection between real prosperity and social well-being as linear and one-dimensional" (1).

The substantiation of a scientific fact greatly depends on the procedural and methodological data gathering, analysis and interpretation. Before we explain

the method we used, it would be expedient to consider the methodological problem relative to information on the degree of satisfaction. As we know, satisfaction is determined directly by the object of the value relation (or, rather, the extent to which it is consistent with corresponding social needs) and standardized ideas on the required level of satisfaction of the latter. The "twin" mechanism used in determining satisfaction ratings has been adequately covered in method publications (2) and is applied in mass surveys as follows: the respondent is asked not only to grade "his own" scale but also to determine what the level of satisfaction of people like himself should be. The correlation between the factual and the desired levels is interpreted as the "quality of life" indicator (3). Without undertaking the detailed study of this problem, we can presume that an inherent feature in the contemporary trend of the way of life of Soviet people is the increased dependence of the assessment of social well-being on the desired situation. It is obvious that increased living standards and population requirements conflictingly influence the assessment of the level of satisfaction, which explains the nonlinear nature of dependence of such evaluations on objective circumstances. Furthermore, absolute 100 percent satisfaction is unattainable, not only because the person, as the ancients knew, is a "dissatisfied being." The moment a certain threshold of satisfaction of need is attained, its object is excluded from the value system of coordinates inherent in the practical awareness; in other words, it is not embodied in it. We believe that in the sociological analysis of the mechanism of satisfaction the consideration not only of the size (scale value) of the assessment but its intensiveness plays an important role. The intensiveness of satisfaction is the level of actualization of requirements in the practical awareness of the subject. Let us consider a specific example. The workers' satisfaction with the possibility of improving their education and skills are 3 times higher than those of engineering and technical personnel; however, the number of workers who failed to answer this question was quintuple that of the second group. Understandably, the intensiveness of satisfaction with a given life situation is considerably higher among engineers.

In our view, the satisfaction assessment indicator is absolutely unsuitable as a target indicator. It merely confirms the existence of a certain "distance" between what is and what is desired, and the moment they coincide, once what is desired has been attained, all satisfaction becomes meaningless. Hence the increased number of respondents who expressed their satisfaction does not mean in the least that any progressive change has taken place, precisely in the way the number of malcontent is not a feature of a bad state of affairs.*

Let us consider the results of the all-union study of the way of life.

Let us note the increased intensiveness of evaluations relative to this most important area of the way of life. As I. T. Levykin found out, positive satisfaction assessments varied from 37.7 to 53.8 percent of those surveyed. As a whole, the level of satisfaction with living conditions was rather high (1). In order to assess the level of one satisfaction indicator or another, a

* According to publications, the value judgments of respondents are qualitatively different from expert evaluations (4).

standardizing criterion is needed. It is established by comparing it with the base indicator of the preceding period. Since the study was conducted simultaneously, no such possibility was available. However, the average level of assessments of changes of the enumerated factors for the 5 previous years exceeds on an average the assessment of their current condition by 50 percent (1, p 94).

Table 1--Differentiation in Population Income in Rubles Per Family Member

Some Areas Covered by the Survey	Social Group		
	Workers	Kolkhoz Members	Intelligentsia
Ukrainian SSR	94.15	72.23	96.76
Azerbaijan SSK	94.40	51.80	80.35
Moscow	112.73	--	117.67
Moscow Oblast	102.62	No data	116.38
All-Union Selection	100.42	72.62	102.6

Indeed, the changes in the material prosperity of the Soviet people have been tremendous. For example, the average wage level of workers and employees in the country's national economy increased from 145.8 rubles in 1975 to 177.3 rubles in 1982 (5). According to data of the all-union study, the average per capita income in worker and intelligentsia families exceeded 100 rubles; it averaged 72.6 rubles per kolkhoz member (see Table 1). We know that the growth of material prosperity is not reduced to monetary income. It includes the creation of favorable living conditions and material and cultural consumption. Particularly characteristic in this respect are indicators of saturation with objects and the consumer orientation of those polled (6).

The overwhelming majority of families have television and radio sets and household equipment. Qualitative changes are taking place in the needs of the people: there is a greater trend toward purchasing color television sets, furniture, expensive kitchenware, books and fashionable clothing. Quite significant differences may be noted between the objects in the home environment and the consumer orientations of workers, kolkhoz members and intellectuals.

In particular, despite the approximately similar level of per capita income of workers and intellectuals, the families of the latter include much more frequently objects of cultural use (radio equipment, musical instruments) as well as so-called luxury items (expensive decorations, crystals, porcelain, furs). It would be simplistic to claim that since the income level is the same, the differences are the result of sociocultural factors. The point is that along with the family income, the level of prosperity is also determined by the property potential of the previously generations, which was higher among the intelligentsia compared to the other social groups. Although an intensive process of elimination of existing disparities is under way (Table 2), the actual prosperity of families of the intelligentsia, which is self-reproducing to a considerable degree, remains relatively high.

The procedures of aggregation of variables were used in solving our problem: comparing objective material prosperity indicators with assessments of their satisfaction. We obtained two indicators. The material prosperity indicator was based on the per capita income of each social group and the number of durable goods owned by the respondent. Said variables were standardized in terms of maximums. The group with maximal per capita income and saturation with material objects was rated 1 and the values of the other groups were determined in terms of the "maximum." The indicator aggregation was obtained by adding the figures.

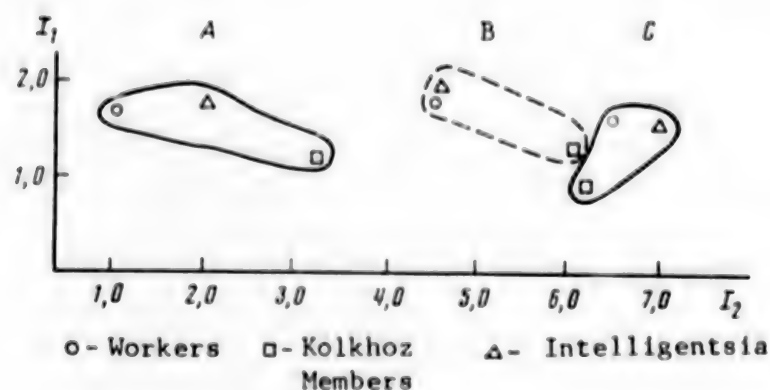
The procedure for computing the satisfaction indicator is more complex. In the course of our study we gathered data on satisfaction with the various living conditions: earnings, profession, housing, etc. The study included a total of 17 variables. Naturally, many of them are interrelated and could be broken down in spatial factors characterizing one area of satisfaction or another. Kramer's contingency coefficient was used to establish an interconnection matrix. We found out, however, that the correlation among all variables was significant in the 1 percent confidence interval. Since the contingency coefficient is used to determine the probability of the existence of connections rather than its narrow dimensions, the factorial study was based on Pierson's correlation coefficient matrix. Obviously, in this case the statistical accuracy requirement is lowered. However, this coefficient is perfectly suitable in establishing the data structure.

Table 2--Availability of Durable Goods and Orientation
Toward Their Acquisition, % of respondents

Durable Use Objects	Workers Would Like		Kolkhoz Members Would Like		Intelligentsia Would Like	
	Own	To Own	Own	To Own	Own	To Own
Garden plot, dacha	15.2	9.8	20.8	5.9	16.2	12.5
Passenger car	8.0	9.1	10.5	13.3	14.8	12.2
Motorboat or launch	2.4	1.8	0.8	1.3	2.6	1.6
Motorcycle, scooter	13.7	9.0	23.1	12.6	10.3	5.8
Black-and-white TV	69.3	10.2	69.3	10.4	68.0	7.1
Color TV	10.0	23.2	4.4	16.3	19.1	27.7
Stereo equipment	9.1	11.0	4.0	5.9	14.2	17.1
Radio received, tape recorder, turntable	57.9	16.8	54.6	15.2	61.0	22.1
Musical instruments	16.2	5.4	13.3	8.4	28.3	7.8
Furniture	24.2	25.7	24.6	22.7	35.7	27.7
Carpets, paintings	38.7	24.6	27.8	24.8	52.7	31.0
Expensive decorative items	14.5	14.3	7.0	12.3	24.7	15.2
Crystals, porcelain	18.7	21.0	8.8	15.8	32.9	21.9
Fur items	19.9	29.3	12.5	19.6	26.6	34.3
Refrigerator	73.2	14.6	61.9	19.4	80.3	11.9
Washing machine	63.9	19.2	65.1	15.8	68.6	19.1
Vacuum cleaner	40.6	20.0	20.3	18.8	56.6	20.1
Armoires	5.0	4.9	5.1	6.0	6.4	7.0
Library	6.4	23.9	8.6	17.4	16.3	56.4
Fashionable clothing	13.3	20.5	11.8	26.9	16.8	52.3

Table 3--Satisfaction With Living Conditions. Matrix of Factor Loads
(All-Union Selection)

Life Situation Elements	Social Group		
	Workers	Kolkhoz Members	Intelligentsia
Material status	0.685	0.728	0.680
Food	0.645	0.728	0.680
Clothing	0.685	0.706	0.695
Earnings	0.409	0.578	0.507
Housing conditions	0.429	0.622	0.423
Assessment of life in immediate surroundings	0.474	0.514	0.545
Ability to take leave and summer holidays	0.623	0.561	0.599
Ability to have leisure time	0.540	0.578	0.512
Ability to communicate with friends, acquaintances and relatives	0.499	0.558	0.500



Breakdown of Social Groups by Prosperity Indicators (I_1) and Satisfaction With the Living Standard (I_2). A--Ukrainian SSR; B--All-Union Selection; C--Azerbaijan SSR

Five factors were determined with the help of the method of principal components, explaining 65 percent of the dispersion of the 17 variables. The factorial load matrix (see Table 3) shows that the first factor which explains about 30 percent of the lot is most closely related to features such as satisfaction with food, clothing and earnings. Said factor was established (with very similar loads) not only in the study of the all-union data array but also separately, by social group, in the various regions. Its mean value for each social group determined the value of the subjective satisfaction indicator.

The data obtained allow us to make certain comparisons which confirm the conclusion that evaluations of the satisfaction with life are significantly more varied despite a rather small variability in prosperity indicators (see diagram). Let us point out the circumstance that in the subjective area of the way of life priority is given to socioregional differences, the interpretation of which is a separate problem. Why is it, for example, that among members of all social groups in Azerbaijan the level of satisfaction with life is substantially higher than the average for the union, whereas the indicators for the Ukraine are lower, although the actual prosperity levels in these areas are virtually identical according to the survey data? No simple answer can be given to this question. It is obvious, however, that the link between the subjective sphere of activities and the social structure of the society is becoming increasingly more complex and indirect.

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TRADE AS A FACTOR OF POPULATION SPARE TIME SAVING

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 84
(signed to press 25 Oct 84) pp 93-97

[Article by Valeriy Pavlovich Voronin, candidate of economic sciences, head of the economic disciplines chair, Voronezh Soviet Trade Institute. Author of the monograph "Optovaya Torgovlya v Sisteme Tovarodvizheniya" [Wholesale Trade in the Commodity Circulation System] (1978). Author of the article "Social and Economic Effectiveness in the Service Sphere" published in our journal (No 2, 1981)]

[Text] Trade plays an exceptionally important role in lowering outlays and ensuring the more efficient utilization of the population's leisure time. This is achieved both by providing better services and organizing special forms of trade. So far, however, the "time-saving" function of trade has not been officially recognized. The method used to determine the effectiveness of investments in the nonproduction sphere (2) does not include time saving among the indicators applied in assessing trade and public catering activities. We find it difficult to agree with this situation. Specialists have estimated the amount of leisure time saved by opening at industrial enterprises stores selling semifinished goods or accepting customer orders. This eliminates adverse production situations in which the people, in an effort to avoid standing in line at peak hours, take time off from work for shopping. Thus, filling an order placed in advance for food products would save a working person about 30 minutes. Such savings totaled 850,000 hours in Voronezh Oblast in 1982. Nonworking time savings as a result of the intensive development of orders placed at industrial enterprises and construction projects in the oblast increased more than tenfold from 1976 to 1983.

However, this type of service is not proportionally distributed among the oblast's population: more than 80 percent of all advance orders are placed by the residents of the oblast center, although their share of the oblast's population is under 34 percent (3). Such services are provided in practice only by enterprises within the system of the Ministry of Trade. The consumer cooperative and the industrial ministry ORS [Department of Workers' Supply] are not applying this progressive form of service.

Expert assessments have indicated that it takes a family 8.7 hours per week to make the necessary purchases (leaving no more than 8.1 hours for care and upbringing of children) (4). Total time outlays for shopping and cooking account for one-half of the entire time allocated for household chores.

According to Latvian specialists, a 65-percent time saving may be achieved by improving the efficiency of household labor, cooking, shopping and laundry above all (5, p 20). Thus, the full set of electrical household machines and appliances would save a family of four about 3 hours daily, which would amount to up to 700 hours annually (5), even if the level of mechanization of household work does not exceed 15 percent (6).

Usually, the mechanization of household work involves the purchasing of a refrigerator, washing machine and vacuum cleaner, which account for 60 percent of total sales of electrical household machines and appliances.

Our trade and other organizations are still not making sufficient use of their potential to influence industry, shape demand and market electrical household appliances. Consumers frequently have a poor idea of the advantages of new appliances, for which reason they avoid buying them, as confirmed by data of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Consumer Demand and Market Conditions (VNIICS) (7). For example, the "Elektronika" microwave oven and the updated "Elektronika"-2 model have long been available on the market. Compared to traditional gas and electric hot plates, the advantages of this appliance are unquestionable. The use of superhigh frequency current speeds up cooking, time outlays are reduced by several hundred percent and quality improves, for the dishes cannot burn, the vitamins are preserved and less fat is necessary. However, there is virtually no demand for such ovens. No housewife not already convinced of its advantages would be willing to pay 270 rubles if she already has a gas or electric range which, furthermore, she has obtained free of charge. A magic circle appears: the customers are ignorant, for which reason demand is low, and the stores order few such items because of low demand. Clearly, the time has come for stores specializing in electric household appliances to set up demonstration premises. All customers should be provided with the opportunity to try any such appliance at a convenient time. This type of publicity would allow the customers not only to become more familiar with the features of complex technical appliances but also to learn how to use them properly.

Freeing time for relaxation also involves the development of public catering, above all with the expansion of a generally accessible network of stores and departments selling precooked and semicooked items (peeled and boiled vegetables, fish, meat and dairy dishes, etc.). Such a network of stores has been well-developed in Leningrad. Voronezh as well has some positive experience: days for expanded sales of all possible baked goods, such as meat, fish or vegetable pies and pirozhki, are regularly held at the Voronezh Central Kolkhoz Market. During such days the stands are crowded, for baking such goods at home is exceptionally labor-consuming. Naturally, not every housewife would be willing or able to spend her free day cooking such dishes. However, for the time being such a convenient form of trade remains the exception.

Considerable time could also be saved by organizing public catering. Frequently it is difficult to accommodate customers taking their regulation lunch break, for even with self-service one must stand in line. The mechanized sale of dishes with the high efficiency Progress and Effekt lines reduces the time

used by the customer by approximately 15 minutes. An almost identical amount of time is saved by the use of new equipment in settling accounts with the customers. For those who are in a particular hurry, vitamin-oriented and tea rooms with coin-operated dispensers would be convenient. However, they are quite unpopular among public catering personnel because of the low cost of the food served. The most convenient method in restaurants is the brigade service method, which speeds up customer service by a factor of 3-4 (8). However, such progressive methods are being developed rather timidly: savings customers' time has still not become a major value indicator of work quality in public catering enterprises. In our view, it would be expedient for the plans for economic and social development of industrial enterprise collectives to include indicators, such as the number of available seats in the public catering (enterprise) system and the amount of time spent per meal (in percent of the standard). The latter should amount to one-half of the regulation lunch break.

Virtually no account is taken of the time spent by the population shopping in stores. The working hours of the stores are very inconvenient. We cannot say that the trade workers have not studied the problem. However, economic results have always been the criterion: volume of trade, amount of earnings, etc. If few customers visit a store in the last hours before closing, the circumstance would play a decisive role in changing store hours.

Naturally, there have been departures from this order as well. As early as the 9th Five-Year Plan, 30 percent of food stores remained open considerably longer and 25 percent of durable goods stores stayed open 7 days a week in Poltava Oblast (9). Many department stores in Voronezh have adopted the same work system. However, this experience has not become widespread (once again due to the approach to assessing the activities of trade enterprises on the basis of volume of sales and profits!).

A radical change in the organization of store work took place following the USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Serious Shortcomings in the Regimen of Work of Enterprises, Organizations and Establishments Providing Population Services," which was adopted in January 1983 (1). The government recommended to the respective ministries, departments and executive committees of kray and oblast soviets of people's deputies immediately to review the existing practice of organizing the work of service industry enterprises with a view to ensuring the greatest possible saving of population time and reducing working time losses.

Although this made it much more convenient for the customers, their interests were not taken carefully into consideration everywhere. In Lipetsk, for example, the working time of Detskiy Mir and other stores was extended at the expense of the morning hours. Yet it is precisely in the morning that the people frequently go to such stores with their families. In frequent cases, a significant number of consumer services are offered on paper only. Minor changes in a store-bought ready-made clothing requires a visit to a consumer service workshop; no more than 20 percent of the stores provide information on the availability of goods by telephone, and it is virtually impossible to get an open line. There is nothing astonishing in this, for such services are not

mandatory and are even officially described as additional services. As a result, despite an extensive list of services offered, a customer could test an electric hot plate in Kishinev only and an electric grill in Tallin; home deliveries of glassware are possible only in Kuybyshev, the rerecording of a favorite melody on a just-purchased tape is possible only in Vladivostok and home deliveries and assembling of furniture are possibly exclusively in Moscow and Leningrad. A custom-cut glass stein may be obtained at the stipulated time in Perm. In a word, the organization of population services is clearly short of sociological thinking and an orientation toward social rather than exclusively economic indicators. We believe that in stimulating the work of trade personnel and setting management wages, we should proceed more not on the basis of the volume of retail trade but the convenience of services offered, the development of marketing services and saving the customers' time. In other words, we must shift the emphasis from value and quantitative to qualitative indicators. This can be achieved by broadening the experiment currently under way, which consists of eliminating intermediary store indicators such as monthly sale and profit plans.

The efficient organization of store work plays a determining role in saving customer time. This is confirmed by the study made by the Voronezh Department of the Correspondence Soviet Trade Institute (ZIST) and the Voronezh Oblast Executive Committee Trade Administration in 1979 and 1983 in the oblast's small and medium-sized town stores. The steps which were taken on the basis of the results of the first study drastically lowered the number of shopping trips to the city by the rural population: their share in the overall volume of trade declined by a factor of 1.5 (from 32 percent in 1979 to 20-22 percent in 1983), although it has remained high to this day (Table 1). It is particularly important that the main reduction (by nearly one-half) was during working hours. The percentage of the rural population in the overall number of customers patronizing urban stores decline even more significantly (Table 2).

The study also revealed the negative circumstances: it turned out that a relatively favorable situation was found essentially in areas close to cities. The number of rural purchasers coming to shop from a distance of between 10 and 20 kilometers roughly doubled; it increased by a factor of 3.5 for a distance ranging between 20 and 30 kilometers, and nearly quadrupled for people living more than 30 kilometers away (Table 3). The average amount in purchases increased substantially. This proves the lack of attention which consumer cooperatives show to the request of the rural population, which is forced to waste a great deal of time and effort to purchase necessary items.

The mass conversion of stores to self-service has made it possible to reduce shopping time by a factor of 1.5-2. Another 15 to 20 percent of the time is saved by paying a single cashier for all department store purchases; the display of goods by consumer groups saves another 20 percent of the time needed. In Tallin's department stores, for example, where these and other trade service methods are extensively used, the average time spent per purchased item is 2.2 minutes, compared with 6.8 minutes in department stores elsewhere in the country.

Table 1--Dynamics of the Percentage of Rural Customers
in Total Voronezh Trade, %

(1) Города Воронеж- ской области	(2)			(3)			(4)		
	В среднем за неделю			В рабочие дни			В выходные дни		
	1979	1983	+ . -	1979	1983	+ . -	1979	1983	+ . -
(5) Бобров	40,1	13,5	-26,6	35,1	12,1	-23,0	46,3	14,9	-31,4
(6) Борисоглебск	35,0	12,6	-22,4	35,9	10,7	-25,2	39,2	14,6	-24,6
(7) Семилуки	22,0	24,7	+2,7	22,1	22,2	+0,1	22,0	27,2	+5,2
(8) Острогожск	31,4	27,1	-4,3	38,5	24,2	-14,3	25,2	29,9	+4,7
(9) В среднем	32,0	19,5	-12,5	33,0	17,3	-15,7	32,0	21,7	-10,3

Table 2--Dynamics of the Percentage of Rural Population
of Total Voronezh Store Customers, %

(1) Города области	(2)			(3)			(4)		
	В среднем за неделю			В рабочие дни			В выходные дни		
	1979	1983	+ . -	1979	1983	+ . -	1979	1983	+ . -
(5) Бобров	37,6	8,5	-29,1	37,3	8,4	-28,9	38,1	8,5	-29,6
(6) Борисоглебск	25,0	6,2	-18,8	24,7	4,7	-20,0	28,4	7,6	-20,8
(7) Семилуки	20,2	14,0	-6,2	21,0	14,8	-5,2	20,0	13,1	-6,9
(8) Острогожск	17,2	17,8	+0,6	22,0	5,7	-16,3	15,0	29,9	+14,9
(9) В среднем	25,0	11,6	-13,4	26,7	8,4	-18,3	25,0	14,8	-10,2

Key:

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Cities in Voronezh Oblast | 6. Borisoglebsk |
| 2. Weekly average | 7. Semiluki |
| 3. Work days | 8. Ostrogozhsk |
| 4. Free days | 9. Average |
| 5. Bobrov | |

Improving true quality work indicators in the service industry offers wide scope for creativity and for the search of efficient means and methods of labor organization. Anyone whose job involves trade management, public catering or other types of services should concentrate his attention on anything which positively affects saving the population's leisure time, which is a permanent social value.

Table 3--Breakdown of Rural Customers by Distance to Voronezh, %

(1) Удаленность (км)	в среднем по область (2)			В том числе (3)											
				Бобров (4)			Борисоглебск (5)			Семилуки (6)			Острогожск (7)		
	1979	1983	±	1979	1983	±	1979	1983	±	1979	1983	±	1979	1983	±
(8) До 5	37,1	15,5	-21,6	—	—	—	1,1	0,3	-0,8	15,4	56,8	+41,4	1,1	5,0	+3,9
5-10	36,8	13,8	-23,0	21,8	13,7	-8,1	4,7	11,0	+6,3	12,6	18,6	+6,0	4,7	12,2	+7,5
10-20	15,6	30,5	+14,9	21,4	42,7	+21,3	24,4	35,7	+11,3	19,6	14,6	-5,0	24,4	29,3	+4,9
20-30	4,7	18,1	+13,4	41,2	25,9	-15,3	20,8	16,9	-3,9	24,8	15,2	-9,6	20,8	24,6	+3,8
(9) Свыше 30	6,0	22,1	+16,1	12,6	17,7	+5,1	28,4	37,0	+8,6	27,6	5,8	-22,8	49,0	28,9	-20,1

Key:

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| 1. Distance (km) | 6. Semiluki |
| 2. Oblast average | 7. Ostrogozhsk |
| 3. Including | 8. Less than 5 |
| 4. Bobrov | 9. Over 30 |
| 5. Borisoglebsk | |

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PUBLIC OPINION OF SCHOOL REFORM: UNITY AND VARIETY

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[Text] The nationwide discussion of the CPSU Central Committee draft "Basic Directions in the Reform of the General Education and Vocational School" provided tremendous data which were extensively used in further work on the draft which was approved at the April 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and USSR Supreme Soviet. As G. A. Aliyev, USSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman, noted at the USSR Supreme Soviet session, "The Collective Mind substantially enriched the draft of the reform. After studying the suggestions and remarks expressed by the working people, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission chaired by K. U. Chernenko made some 100 additions, refinements and amendments to the document" (1).

During the nationwide discussion, anyone had the opportunity to express his viewpoint. Thus, for nearly 3 months the editors of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA received about 150 suggestions, pieces of advice and remarks daily. More than 13,000 letters to the editors on the forthcoming school reform were received by PRAVDA. All of this proves that the reform created a great deal of interest and became an object of consideration by public opinion as a socially significant and topical problem.

The study of public opinion relative to the school reform became the subject of a comprehensive sociological study conducted by the USSR Academy of

Sciences Institute of Sociological Research. The program called for making two current surveys in Kirov, Kuybyshev, Vyazma and Vladimir oblasts,¹ in Moscow and in Ufa.² Also studied were letters to the editors and corresponding materials published in the newspapers SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA, TRUD, SEL'SKAYA ZHIZN' and LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA (Moscow Oblast) for the period between 15 January and 15 February 1984.

As we know, the competence of public opinion is largely determined by the degree of people's information. The results of the study indicated that the working people were well-informed on the problem under discussion. The survey showed that 40 days after the draft was made public by the CPSU Central Committee, some 90 percent of the RSFSR population 18 or older were familiar with the document. Greater interest in the draft was shown by women, workers, intellectuals and people of parenthood age (25-49).

Public opinion surveys showed the high level of unanimity existing among the different population groups in the high assessment they gave to the draft of the reform. Most of those surveyed (80 percent) expressed no doubt whatsoever of its timeliness, the key trends in the reorganization of the public education system and the need to eliminate a number of major shortcomings and omissions in scholastic activities (see Fig. 1). Furthermore, more than half of the respondents, who gave a high rating and approval of the draft, submitted corrections and additions. About 4 percent believed that there was no need for a reform. These were essentially people in the older age groups with incomplete secondary education. Obviously, their opinion was largely determined by lack of understanding of the problem.

The overwhelming majority were truly interested and, on the basis of their practical experience, considered the unresolved problems of youth education and upbringing. Thus, for example, within a single month KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA, TRUD, SEL'SKAYA ZHIZN' and LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA published 207 specific suggestions on improving the draft. They applied mainly to the structure of secondary general and vocational training (Section II), upgrading the quality of school education (III), labor training, instruction and vocational guidance (IV). The fourth section of the draft, which discussed combining training with productive labor, triggered particularly energetic debates.

We must emphasize that the results of the study of the letters and publications closely agree with the survey data. The general assessment of the draft of the reform, the concentration on the sections we mentioned and the nature of suggestions and remarks were identical. Along with a high rating of the draft as a whole, some of its stipulations triggered different opinions among members of different population strata. The complex and comprehensive nature of the problem and the ways and means of its solution determined the great variety of views and the wide range of statements by the public (2). The stipulations on involving all school students in production work and combining secondary general education with vocational training were unanimously approved. The overwhelming majority of those surveyed expressed no doubt that this precisely was the linchpin of the school reform. The substantial enrichment of the social functions of education--directing young people to work in the national economy--was noted with profound satisfaction.

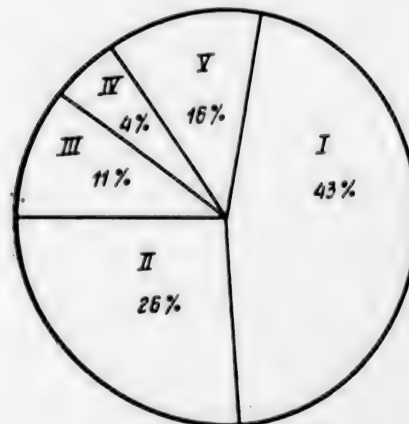


Figure 1. General assessment of the draft of the school reform. I--Draft accepted in its entirety, without stipulations; II--draft accepted with some amendments and supplements; III--draft accepted with a proviso that substantial further work will be done; IV--draft rejected, in the belief that no school reform was needed; V--no opinion.

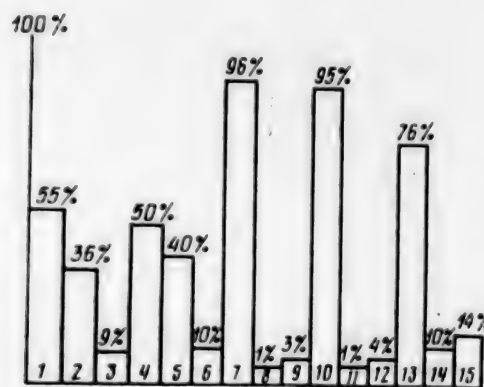


Figure 2. Attitude toward basic stipulations in the school reform: primary education at age 6 (1--positive, 2--negative, 3--no opinion); 1-year training extension (4--positive; 5--negative; 6--no opinion); involving school students in work (7--positive; 8--negative; 9--no opinion); combining general vocational with secondary school training (10--positive; 11--negative; 12--no opinion); significant increase in the enrollment of students in secondary vocational technical schools (13--positive; 14--negative; 15--no opinion).

However, public opinion assessed the means and methods used in resolving the problems in a variety of sometimes even conflicting ways. Thus, for example, 20 percent of secondary school teachers opposed the idea that most young people be given vocational training in PTU [vocational-technical school]. The teachers were worried that a mass orientation of school students toward continuing their training in PTU may lower their interest in school work. Production training foremen and PTU teachers expressed the diametrically opposite view: 80 percent were convinced that this was the only true path leading to vocational training. However, although occasionally expressing opposite view on the means of realizing this reform stipulation, all those polled agreed that it is necessary "not to play at working but to work energetically."

Seventy-five percent of the respondents approved the provision of increasing student enrollment in secondary PTU. However, after the question was moved from the area of abstract concepts to personal interests, many people expressed a more restrained evaluation of PTU. Obviously, this was affected by the mass concept of the low prestige of such schools, although in recent years both material facilities in PTU and the attitude of the students themselves toward them have improved.

The question of lowering age limits for a number of skills was actively discussed as well. This was favored by 64 percent of those surveyed in the Russian Federation. However, a considerable share of the population (23 percent) responded negatively to the suggestion; many of them were between the ages of 18 and 24. On the one hand, this may be explained by the lack of information of the young people as to what specifically is meant by lowering age restrictions in job placement; on the other, it confirms a certain infantilism and consumerist attitudes on the part of some youths.

Two problems were among the most controversial: starting school at the age of 6 and extending school attendance by 1 year. Only one-half of those surveyed welcomed these new features. As to starting school at the age of 6, the opponents of this innovation cited above all the physical and moral lack of preparedness of 6-year-old children for a school regimen. Practical experience disposes of such fears. Thus, in the Azerbaijan SSR, where some 60 percent of 6-year-olds attend preparatory classes, even the most exacting medical supervision failed to find any deviations whatsoever in the health and physical development of the children. The experience of the fraternal socialist countries and the results of experiments conducted at home convincingly prove the usefulness of an early start in education, both from the viewpoint of the cognitive needs of the children and the development of their independence and discipline. Today it is important to make proper use of the progressive experience gained by educators in Moscow, Georgia, the Ukraine and Azerbaijan, to apply tested methods, take into consideration the recommendations of psychologists and, naturally, to block hasty decisions or administrative excesses in sending 6-year-old children to school. Incidentally, this stipulation was welcomed with greater approval by the rural population than the urban. There is nothing amazing in this, for the entire way of rural life encourages the earlier development of the children's independence.

The extensive dissemination of practical experience in sending 6-year-old children to school, gained both at home and abroad, and the gradual conversion to the new system, as additional classrooms are opened, the training of teaching cadres and taking into consideration the wishes of parents, the children's levels of development and local conditions (2) are the optimal way to resolve this problem.

Those who questioned the expediency of increasing the number of school years point out most frequently that we have already had an 11-year training course, which proved unprofitable. Why go back to it? Yet this innovation is related to an essential, a qualitative restructuring of the curriculum. Increasing training by 1 year will reduce the load carried by the students and will provide time for labor upbringing, vocational orientation and mastering skills needed by society.

Many problems were raised in the course of the nationwide discussion of the CPSU Central Committee draft. The structure of general and vocational training, training time and ways and means of improving the labor, ideological-political, moral and aesthetic upbringing of young people became the focal points of public opinion. The overwhelming majority of working people (93 percent) expressed their confidence that the reform will prepare young people for socially useful labor in the national economy, enhance the reputation and prestige of the teacher and the vocational training foreman (82 percent) and ensure a certain level of knowledge needed for continuing with one's education in higher educational institutions (77 percent). The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers passed several decrees on the application of the new educational system. They contain clear guidelines for the activities of party and soviet bodies, secondary school and PTU staffs and public education and vocational training bodies for perfecting the training and upbringing of the growing generations. The reform was enacted.

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FOOTNOTES

1. The selection included 1,000 people and the settlements were classified into large, medium-sized and small towns and rural settlements. The respondents were selected on a quota basis; the method used in the study was that of audience investigation.
2. The sociological service of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA surveyed more than 600 teachers, vocational training foremen and secondary school and PTU students and their parents.

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UNIVERSAL VOCATIONAL YOUTH TRAINING: OPINIONS, VALUES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 84
(signed to press 25 Oct 84) pp 101-104

[Article by Aleksandr Vladimirovich Kinsburskiy, candidate of philosophical sciences and senior scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research. Author of the article "Dynamics of Youth Orientation Toward Higher Education" published in our journal (2, 1979)]

[Text] The transition to universal vocational education, as stipulated in the Basic Directions in the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools, inevitably means the reorganization of the vocational training of the young generation. What is the view on this subject of the personnel within the educational system, the students themselves and their parents? A public opinion study on this subject was conducted by associates of the USSR AN ISI [Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research] during the period of the nationwide discussion of the draft of the reform.*

Let us point out, above all, that the overwhelming majority of the respondents share the viewpoint of the need to add vocational to the secondary general education of the youth. A similar indicator equaled 50-60 percent only among senior classmen in the specialized language school. Obviously, this had to do with their firm orientation toward "the educational route": school-VUZ. Between two-thirds and four-fifths of the parents of school students agreed that the students should do productive work within their powers. More than 70 percent of all those surveyed believed in the beneficial influence of the school reform on the labor upbringing and training of young people.

As to the means of vocational training of boys and girls, public opinion turned out to be more disparate. The data in Table 1 show the nature of the differences which became apparent among schoolteachers and PTU instructors on the individual stipulations in the draft of the reform. Sixty-nine percent of conventional schoolteachers and 48 percent of specialized schoolteachers favored a significant increase in the role of vocational-technical training. Noteworthy is that among the latter one out of six, and almost one out of

* The study, which was commissioned by the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, was conducted in two secondary schools and two secondary PTU [vocational-technical schools] in Moscow's Sevastopolskiy Rayon in February 1984.

five teachers in the construction PTU disagreed with the stipulation of significantly increasing youth training in vocational-technical schools. Apparently, public opinion still has a negative attitude toward the vocational-technical training system, triggered by some shortcomings in the development of its material and technical base, educational staffs and organization of training-educational work. Unquestionably, time, effort and funds will be needed to surmount all of this.

Table 1--View of Secondary School Teachers and Secondary PTU Instructors on Individual Stipulations in the Draft of the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools, %

Stipulations in the School Reform Draft	Teachers			
	Conventional Schools	Specialized Schools	Construc- tion PTU	Trade PTU
Considerable expansion in the vocational training of young people in secondary PTU:				
Agree	69	48	74	94
Disagree	0	16	19	0
Uncertain	31	36	7	6
Extending work practice time by shortening the summer holiday somewhat:				
Agree	69	16	33	50
Disagree	19	72	59	31
Uncertain	12	12	8	19

Different views were expressed on the suggestion to increase the time of students' labor practice by shortening summer vacation somewhat. Whereas most teachers in conventional schools favored this change, the majority of teachers in specialized schools opposed it. Differences were also noted among vocational-technical school teachers. As a whole, the opinion of the training-pedagogical collectives in schools and secondary educational institutions is that PTU are not the only method for achieving a universal vocational training of young people but that the intensification of labor upbringing and training of the students should take place not only during summer vacation but during the rest of the time as well.

Table 2 shows that senior classmen (in the specialized schools in particular) do not support the stipulation of increasing youth enrollment in vocational-technical schools. The opinion of those already attending such schools is different. Most of them, conversely, favor such increases. This is understandable, for the former have already made their practical choice in favor of the school and the latter, in favor of secondary PTU. This was reflected in the survey answers. However, the implementation of the stipulation of increasing (eventually to double) the number and percent of graduates of incomplete secondary schools enrolling in PTU requires that a significant percentage of young people be reoriented toward vocational-technical school. A positive

trend here is obvious: the percentage of eighth-grade graduates who tend toward vocational-technical training is increasing with every passing year. However, this process is not developing as rapidly as one would wish and, furthermore, it is greatly differentiated according to the sectorial group of schools, the regional characteristics of the existing "education situation" and the social characteristics of boys and girls. In a word, the reorientation of public opinion will remain a long-term, quite relevant task.

The viewpoint of school and PTU students concerning the suggestion of increasing the time for labor practice by reducing somewhat the length of summer vacation was unanimous. Between 80 and 98 percent of those surveyed opposed it. This fact requires additional study and interpretation.

Table 2--Opinions Expressed by Students in Secondary Schools and Secondary PTU on Specific Stipulations of the Draft of the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools, %

<u>Draft Stipulations</u>	Students			
	<u>Conventional School</u>	<u>Specialized School</u>	<u>Construction PTU</u>	<u>Trade PTU</u>
Significantly increasing vocational youth training in secondary PTU:				
Agree	24	14	70	52
Disagree	28	55	13	15
Uncertain	48	31	17	33
Extending labor practice by somewhat reducing summer vacations:				
Agree	3	2	13	2
Disagree	90	98	80	90
Uncertain	7	0	7	8

Therefore, the considerations expressed by the young people on the means of introducing universal vocational training were quite different from those of the teachers.

Let us now consider what the parents of school students think of the reform. The need to increase enrollment in vocational-technical schools met with the highest agreement of employees without higher education (50 percent), followed by workers (36 percent) and, finally, specialists with higher training (28 percent). Table 3 shows that as a whole parents are quite restrained in terms of redirecting their children to vocational-technical schools. At the same time, the overwhelming majority of them (between 84 and 95 percent) favored improved vocational training within the general education system.

According to the parents, what means should be applied to improve labor upbringing and training at school? Most of them favored involving the children

in productive toil during school hours and opposed longer production training during summer vacation. In other words, the parents prefer intensified vocational training without changing the training load in school and a redistribution of training time in favor of classes related to labor instruction and education.

Table 3--Opinion of Parents of School Students Concerning Individual Stipulations in the Draft of the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools, %

<u>Draft Stipulations</u>	<u>Workers</u>	<u>Employees</u>	<u>Intelligentsia</u>
Considerably increasing enrollment of school graduates in PTU:			
Agree	36	50	28
Disagree	12	24	25
Uncertain	52	26	47
Improving vocational training of school students in training-production combines and school:			
Agree	84	95	94
Disagree	0	0	2
Uncertain	16	5	4
Increasing production practice of senior grade students during school vacations:			
Agree	27	34	18
Disagree	60	45	70
Uncertain	13	21	12
Involving all school students in feasible productive work during school hours:			
Agree	60	84	74
Disagree	21	8	15
Uncertain	19	8	11

Essentially, the view of all categories of those surveyed (teachers, students, parents) may be reduced to the fact that universal vocational training of young people should take place not only by considerably increasing the enrollment of school graduates in vocational-technical schools or increasing skilled worker training. Other vocational schools (VUZs and technicums) and general education schools should play a certain role in this connection. The general consensus is that general education schools must drastically improve labor training, education and vocational guidance.

Basically, these views are consistent with the draft of the reform, the nationwide discussion of which indicated a unanimous approval of the basic

tasks formulated here. At the same time, critical remarks and constructive suggestions made it possible substantially to enrich the draft and to introduce in the final document about 100 additions, refinements and amendments. In particular, the study of foundations of the production process and familiarization with skills will be introduced in order to improve vocational guidance in senior grades.

The school reform affects virtually all social strata and its successful implementation greatly depends on the interested attitude toward the work currently under way among the broad toiling masses. This urgently raises the question of propagandizing the nature of the reform and explaining the immediate and longer-range social consequences of new developments.

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PECULIARITIES OF NATIONAL CEREMONIAL RITES AND LIFE STANDARDS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 84
(signed to press 25 Oct 84) pp 104-107

[Article by Addin Sadraddinovich Shakir-Zade, doctor of philosophical sciences professor, head of the sociology department, Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Law. Author of the monograph "Epikur" [Epicurean] (1963), "Narod--Tvorets Kul'tury Kommunizma" [The People Are the Makers of Communist Culture] (1965), "Obshchestvennyye Nachalaya v Razviti Kul'tury" [Social Principles in Cultural Development] (1969), "Sovetskiy Obraz Zhizni" [Soviet Way of Life] (1979) and others. He has contributed to our journal reports on the activities of the Azerbaijan Department of the SSA [Soviet Sociological Association] (No 4, 1978; No 4, 1980; No 2, 1984)]

[Text] The study of the process of combining the national with international features in socialist culture, including life standards, and their important component--customs and ceremonies--is very relevant, for it is closely related to the communist upbringing and molding the comprehensively developed individual.

A sociological study on "The Soviet Way of Life: Combination of the International with the National in Culture,"¹ was conducted in Agdamskiy and Shekinskiy rayons, Azerbaijan SSR, in 1982-1983. The survey covered 235 members of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia.

In recent years a great deal has been done in the republic to introduce new socialist holidays and traditions in the daily life of the citizens.

The July 1983 CP of Azerbaijan Central Committee Plenum emphasized that "general Soviet sociopolitical, labor and family traditions, ceremonies and civilian rituals have firmly become part of the life of the Azerbaijani people" (2, p 25).

Studies have indicated that the overwhelming majority (87.5 percent) of those surveyed celebrate various professional-labor holidays and memorable anniversaries; more than two-thirds of the respondents celebrate the national holidays of 8 March, 1 May, 9 May and 7-8 November, not only with their labor collectives but the family as well. Sendoffs to the Soviet army are solemnly celebrated by 73 percent of those surveyed and return from military service by 93.5 percent. Constitution Day is celebrated by 54 percent.

The harvest holiday has become traditional, marking the successful completion of farm work and implementation of plans. Ceremonies related to summing up the results of the socialist competition, the presentation of banners and pennants to leading collectives, celebrations of labor dynasties, youth sponsors and production frontrankers and innovators are held. As a rule, they involve mass outdoor parties, songs, dances, sports games and strength and skill competitions.

Whereas harvest holidays go back centuries, vocational-labor holidays are the result of Soviet reality and have become firmly established in people's lives. This is confirmed by public opinion surveys (see Table 1).

Table 1--Participation in Professional-Labor Holidays
by Working People Categories, % of those surveyed

<u>Labor and Profes- sional Holidays</u>	<u>Industrial Workers</u>	<u>Sovkhoz Workers and Kolkhoz Members</u>	<u>Employees and Intelligentsia</u>
Harvest holiday	81.2	96.4	80.0
Mechanizer Day	25.0	56.4	23.3
Milkmaid and Milkman Day	10.4	38.2	23.3
Shepherd holiday	8.3	36.4	20.5

The participation of workers in industry, employees and intelligentsia in agricultural holidays is explained by the fact that Agdam and Sheki are large rayon centers, the population of which maintains close ties with the neighboring villages.

The results of the study also confirm the remaining contradictions between new and progressive Soviet customs and tradition, on the one hand, and conservative ceremonies canonized by religion, on the other. To the survey question "Why did you get married?" most of the respondents (84.2 percent) answered "for love, taking into consideration the view of parents and relatives"; 11.3 percent were married by the wish of the parents; and 4.5 percent against their will. About one-third (29 percent) of the respondents noted that they legalized their marriage both civically and religiously. Unfortunately, many of them were young people aged 18 to 30.

Table 2 shows data on the various stages of national marital ceremonies.

According to a custom there is a double wedding: separately for the bride, with the participation of her relatives, close friends and some members of the groom's family, including the groom, and separately for the groom (the culmination of the marriage ceremony). This custom is popular primarily in the cities. It is sometimes explained by crowded housing conditions. In our view, however, the main reason for such "double" marriages is the material advantages accruing to their organizers, for the more people are invited the more wedding gifts are brought.

Table 2--Observance of National Marital Ceremonies According to the Level of Education of Respondents, % of those surveyed

<u>Marriage Ceremony</u>	<u>Educational Level of Respondents</u>				
	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Incomplete Secondary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>Secondary Specialized</u>	<u>Incomplete Higher & Higher</u>
Parental agreement for the girl	8.9	6.7	17.9	11.9	6.0
Small betrothal (kichik nishan)	3.0	3.0	8.9	8.9	2.2
Big wedding (beyuk nishan)	1.5	3.0	6.0	4.5	0.7
Henna dyeing (khna yakhma)	4.5	3.7	9.7	9.7	2.2
Review of dowry (parcha kesme)	4.5	3.7	11.2	11.2	3.7
Bride wedding celebration (separate)	6.7	1.5	6.7	3.1	3.7
Groom wedding celebration (separate)	5.2	3.7	11.2	11.2	3.7
Joint wedding	3.7	3.7	11.9	3.0	3.0

The common wish of the respondents to remove from the marriage ceremony unnecessary and sometimes expensive elements and reduce it to obtaining the agreement of the girl and her parents, the betrothal and the registration of the marriage at the ZAGS [Registry Office] and to have only one ceremony was the important result of the study. Reality confirms the inexpediency of most premarital and postmarital acts which symbolize inert and obsolete ceremonies detrimental to family life.

It has been noted in scientific publications that conservative rituals, frequently accompanied by religious ceremonies, are manifested most strongly at funerals. This is entirely explainable. The death of someone close is one of the most tragic moments in human life, necessitating an internal unification of his moral-spiritual and emotional manifestations which is known in historical-cultural tradition as "catharsis." A burial is inconceivable without the aid and sympathy of others. In Azerbaijan, the role of organizer of social communities in dramatic periods of human life was previously exclusively that of religion--Islam. The sacramental nature of burials has been largely retained to this day: most of those polled deem it necessary to invite the mullah to burials and wakes (see Table 3).²

Unfortunately, the new nonsacramental ceremonies are making their way exceptionally slowly and with great difficulty. In particular, funeral music (a traditional burial element in European culture) is so far not very popular in

formerly Muslim areas. Wakes are firmly entrenched. It would hardly be expedient to orient educational work toward a frontal struggle against such vestiges. In our view, it would be more relevant to pay most serious attention to cases of turning funerals into rich demonstrations of wealth and luxury. Unquestionably, the active struggle against such opposites of our morality would meet with the approval and support of all working people categories.

Table 3--The Observance of Funeral Ceremonies According to the Respondents' Age, % of those surveyed

<u>"In Your View, How Should a Funeral Be Organized?"</u>	<u>Age</u>			
	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-49</u>	<u>50 and older</u>
Inviting the mullah or priest	88.6	91.4	94.9	79.2
Wakes held on the third, seventh and 40th day after the death	85.7	88.6	89.7	87.5
Wakes held every Thursday up to the 40th day	71.4	77.1	66.7	66.7
Wakes on the anniversary of the death	82.8	82.8	79.5	83.3
Inviting people during such days and offering them food (ekhsan)	60.0	71.4	64.1	62.5
Hiring a wind instruments orchestra	5.7	2.8	5.1	4.2
Hiring folk instrument musicians	8.6	2.8	2.6	12.5
Laying wreaths and flowers	85.7	91.4	64.1	50.0
Holding funeral meeting	100.0	42.8	71.8	33.3
Putting announcement in paper	97.1	94.3	97.4	58.3
No answer	--	5.7	--	--

Removing the influence of religion from ceremonies requires further intensification of atheistic propaganda and the patient and consistent explanation of the senselessness and the uselessness of religious law regulations and dogmas. The stipulation formulated in the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum decree is exceptionally relevant: "We must wage more active propaganda of scientific-materialistic views among the population and pay greater attention to atheistic upbringing. Believers must be involved more extensively in social life and Soviet ceremonies introduced more persistently" (1).

Perfecting the socialist way of life objective leads to the further internationalization of the various aspects of social life, contributes to the progressive process of rapprochement and interpenetration between the international and the national in all social areas, including domestic life, and actively helps in the upbringing of the working people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and internationalism.

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FOOTNOTES

1. The survey and the interpretation of its results were made with the participation of the following associates, department of sociology, Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Law: Candidate of Philosophical Sciences S. Ya. Guseynov, E. S. Musayev, S. M. Allakhverdiya and Ya. A. Abasov.
2. Naturally, this breakdown of opinions of those surveyed does not mean that the majority of the population favors inviting the mullah to attend the burial. There are few active mosques in Azerbaijan. However, the psychological view on the religious nature of the ceremony remains.

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DETERMINING YOUTH INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY

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[Article by Aksel' Val'demarovich Kirkh, candidate of philosophical sciences and senior scientific associate, Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History. Author of the article "Causal Model of Youth Mobility" published in our journal (No 1, 1984, coauthored)]

[Text] The reproduction of the socioclass structure is characterized today by increased intergenerational mobility of young people, who have wider choices in selecting a profession. As they enter their labor career, fewer and fewer young men and women remain in their parents' social group. This process, however, is complex. It includes features related to the trend of such dynamics. The determination of such features is a complex methodological problem, the solution of which requires the formulation of special matrix models of mobility.

A longitudinal study of secondary school graduates in the Estonian SSR, made by sociologists at Tartu State University and the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History, headed by M. Kh. Titma, between 1966 and 1979,¹ enabled us to identify the main trends of the inclusion of young people in the republic's socioclass structure. The method used in determining intergenerational mobility was based on a number of statistical parameters: extent, intensiveness, and trend and structure of flows. This list was expanded with a study of the probability of changes in the qualitative structure of the mobile youth.

Two quantitative indicators characterize the volume of social changes in our study: the number of mobile and nonmobile people. The first covers the group of respondents with a socioclass status different from that of their fathers and mothers at the time of the 1979 survey; the second covers the segment of those surveyed, whose socioclass status coincides with that of their parents. The matrix in Table 1 helps us to determine the number of mobile and stationary sons and daughters, i.e., to establish the volume of intergenerational changes along the paternal ("father-son") and maternal ("mother-daughter") lines.

Table 1--Intergenerational Changes
(matrix based on the "father-son" and "mother-daughter" line, %)

(1) Социальные группы родителей в 30-летнем возрасте (отдельно отец и мать)	(2) Социальные группы молодежи										(3) Мобиль- ные	(4) Немобиль- ные			
	(5)		(6)		(7)		(8)		(9)		(10)	(10)			
	колхозники, рабочие совхозов		рабочие низкой и средней квалифи- кации		рабочие высокой квали- фикации		служащие- неспециа- листы		интел- лиген- ция		по линии	по линии			
											(13)	(14)			
	сын	дочь	сын	дочь	сын	дочь	сын	дочь	сын	дочь	отец сын	мать дочь	отец сын	мать дочь	
(5) Колхозники, ра- бочие совхо- зов	(15) Отец	9		14		11		12		54		91		9	
	(16) Мать		7		13		9		29		42		93		7
(6) Рабочие низкой и средней квалификации	(16) Отец	5		7		14		17		57		93		7	
	Мать		4		10		8		28		50		90		10
(7) Рабочие высокой квалификации	Отец	7		11		18		10		54		82		18	
	Мать		0		8		15		15		62		86		14
(8) Служащие-не- специалисты	Отец	3		15		11		12		59		88		12	
	Мать		1		7		4		25		63		75		25
(9) Интеллигенция	Отец	1		8		9		10		72		28		72	
	Мать		0		6		4		9		81		20		80
(17) Всего	Отец	5		11		12		14		58		82		18	
	Мать		3		9		6		26		56		82		18

Key:

- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| 1. Parental social groups at age 30
(father and mother separately) | 10. Line |
| 2. Youth social group | 11. Son |
| 3. Mobile | 12. Daughter |
| 4. Stationary | 13. Father |
| 5. Kolkhoz members, sovkhov workers | 14. Mother |
| 6. Low and medium-skilled workers | 15. Paternal-son |
| 7. Highly skilled workers | 16. Maternal-daughter |
| 8. Employees-nonspecialists | 17. Total |
| 9. Intelligentsia | |

The Table 1 totals of the mobile groups along the "father-son" and "mother-daughter" lines (82 percent of those surveyed) indicate the high mobility of sons and daughters, are quantitatively identical. However, disparities in mobility levels were significant among the individual social groups. Members of the intelligentsia and people doing physical work in kolkhozes and sovkhovs were marginal in terms of mobility size. Differences between them were nearly triple in the "father-son" line and nearly quintuple along the "mother-daughter" line.

The intensiveness of intergenerational mobility is expressed with the formula $L = M/N$, in which M is the number of mobile individuals and N is the number of those surveyed (2). The following formulas were used to determine the intensiveness indicators along paternal and maternal lines: a) $L_0 = M_0/N_0$; and b) $L_M = M_M/N_M$ in which M_0 is the number of mobile sons compared with fathers; M_M is the number of mobile daughters compared with mothers; N_0 is the number of surveyed sons (fathers); N_M is the number of surveyed daughters (mothers).

According to our study, L_0 and L_M equal respectively 0.82. Therefore, differences in the intensiveness of intergenerational social shifts based on sex were not noted.

The trend of the changes among generations is characterized by two quantitative indicators: the outflow quota and the association index (3). The outflow quota is the percentage of individuals who moved from the parental to another social group. The study of intergenerational mobility enabled us to determine the percentage of sons and daughters whose socioclass status was different from that of their parents.

As Table 2 shows, the most intensive shifts of young men and women was to the intellectual group (regardless of parental social status). Let us also note the high degree of self-reproduction of the latter, particularly along the "mother-daughter" line (81 percent). The outflow was substantially less in the remaining groups. The highest indicator for the entire youth contingent was 25 percent (children of kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers, who became nonspecialist employees); it was, respectively, 18 and 29 percent along the "father-son" and "mother-daughter" (in the former case, both father and son were highly skilled workers; in the latter, the mother was a kolkhoz member or sovkhoz worker while the daughter was a nonspecialist employee). Such a trend in intergenerational moves, from the physical to the mental work group, is explained by the high educational standard of the respondents (60 percent of the surveyed young people were graduates of higher or secondary schools) and the republic's need for highly skilled specialist cadres.

The association index--the second quantitative indicator characterizing the trend of the moves under consideration--is the optimal mobility concept, in which the structure of the outflow of individuals into a specific social category is entirely consistent with the socioclass structure of the society. This is a nonmobility indicator and a coefficient with the help of which we can compare socioprofessional or socioclass breakdowns between the two generations (4).

If the association indicator equals 1, i.e., when the quote of outflow coincides with the share of the accepting group (see Table 2, workers with low or average skills), we may assume that the social changes of young people from groups corresponding to their social origin into said groups are determined only the currently existing socioclass structure. If the indicator is higher than 1 (according to Table 2, it is 1.8 for children of highly skilled workers, it confirms a less intensive intergenerational mobility (i.e., greater nonmobility) than would have been the case in a equiprobable distribution. The high indicator of offspring of nonspecialist employees (1.1) and the intelligentsia (1.3) indicates that familial affiliation with the group engaged in mental labor contributes to the preservation of the social status of children of intellectuals. Young people from families of sovkhoz workers and kolkhoz members (0.8) move into this group much less frequently.

The flow structure is the next important statistical parameter of intergenerational mobility. This structure can be presented as the indicator of disparity between the socioclass or professional "father-son" or "mother-

Table 2--Changes in the Intergenerational Mobility Process, %, Indicator*

<u>Parental Social Group</u>	<u>Youth Social Group</u>				
	<u>Kolkhoz Members, Sovkhoz Workers</u>	<u>Low and Average-Skilled Workers</u>	<u>Highly Skilled Workers</u>	<u>Employees -Nonspecialists</u>	<u>Intelligentsia</u>
<u>Total Surveyed Group</u>					
Total	4/1.0	10/1.0	9/1.0	20/1.0	57/1.0
Kolkhoz members, sovkhoz workers	7/1.8	13/1.3	9/1.0	25/1.3	46/0.8
Low and average-skilled workers	4/1.0	9/0.9	10/1.1	24/1.2	53/0.9
Highly skilled workers	5/1.3	11/1.1	18/2.0	11/0.6	55/1.0
Nonspecialist employees	2/0.5	10/1.0	6/0.7	21/1.1	61/1.1
Intelligentsia	1/0.3	7/0.7	6/0.7	10/0.5	76/1.3
<u>Paternal Social Group</u>			<u>Men</u>		
Total	5/1.0	11/1.0	12/1.0	14/1.0	58/1.0
Kolkhoz members, sovkhoz workers	9/1.8	14/1.3	11/0.9	12/0.9	54/0.9
Low and average-skilled workers	5/1.0	7/0.6	14/1.2	17/1.2	57/1.0
Highly skilled workers	7/1.4	11/1.0	18/1.5	10/0.7	54/0.9
Nonspecialist employees	3/0.6	15/1.4	11/0.9	12/0.9	59/1.0
Intelligentsia	1/0.2	8/0.7	9/0.8	10/0.7	72/1.2
<u>Maternal Social Group</u>			<u>Women</u>		
Total	3/1.0	19/1.0	6/1.0	26/1.0	56/1.0
Kolkhoz members, sovkhoz workers	7/2.3	13/1.4	9/1.5	29/1.1	42/0.8
Low and average-skilled workers	4/1.3	10/1.1	8/1.3	28/1.1	50/0.9
Highly skilled workers	0/0	8/0.9	15/2.5	15/0.6	62/1.1
Nonspecialist employees	1/0.3	7/0.8	4/0.7	25/1.0	63/1.1
Intelligentsia	0/0	6/0.7	4/0.7	9/0.4	81/1.3

* The figures in the numerator indicate the percentage of surveyed individuals whose social origin was based on the social characteristics of their father or mother; the figures in the denominator are the association indicator. It is computed by dividing the quota of outflow from a given category by the percentage of the social group toward which the flow is directed.

daughter" status (5). This indicator is computed by dividing by one-half the sum of absolute disparities between corresponding pairs of parents and children. The study of the matrix enables us to determine the structural mobility

indicators for the first ("father-son") and second ("mother-daughter") pairs (43 and 49 percent of those surveyed, respectively). This means that structural changes in society, essentially related to the republic's intensive industrialization and the migration of the rural population to the cities in the 1940s and 1950s, influenced the mobility of 43 percent of the sons and 49 percent of the daughters. One may confidently say that in the life of a single generation considerable social changes in the manpower structure were noted in the Estonian SSR, manifested in the increased share in professions involving mental work and a reduced percentage of agricultural professions in the socioprofessional structure of the employed population.

Let emphasize that the structural mobility indicator applies only to the so-called net mobility pertaining to the socioclass status of fathers and sons. The data of our study prove that 43 percent of the sons were unable to inherit the social status of their fathers only because precisely the same percentage of fathers changed their social status in the socioclass structure within the lifespan of a single generation.

The indicator of structural mobility alone is insufficient in characterizing the probability of changes in the qualitative structure of those who change their status, for it does not allow us to trace the social mobility of the members of individual socioclass groups from stage to stage (from the start of their independent life in 1966 to the establishment of a stable social status 14 years later). Let us consider the way this process developed among our respondents, whose social status was established twice: in 1966 and in 1979. It turns out that the social status of the boys and girls, which existed after their graduation (based on their first job or enrollment in a VUZ or technicum) was substantially different from their social status in 1979. The following trend is noteworthy: 50 percent of the offspring of intellectual families, who began their labor career as nonspecialist employees or unskilled or average-skilled workers had regained their parents' group at the time of the last survey. This reconfirms the conclusion that in the course of intergenerational mobility in Estonia a process of self-reproduction of the intelligentsia takes place. The likelihood that the children of socialist workers and kolkhoz members and nonspecialist employees will join the ranks of the intelligentsia is somewhat lesser. The data of the study of probability changes in the individual youth groups lead to the conclusion that an equilibrium exists between the trends of reproduction and expanded reproduction of mental workers.

Compared to children of families of intellectuals and nonspecialist employees, workers' children begin their labor career with simple mental or unskilled physical labor. To a certain extent, this circumstance lowers the possibility of members of said category to move into the group of the intelligentsia. Such a change was accomplished by one out of three. Typical of this youth group is the trend to remain in the groups they joined after graduating from secondary school, i.e., in the ranks of workers or nonspecialist employees.

Table 3--Regression Study Results

<u>Character- istics- Functions</u>	<u>Enumeration of Arguments-Characteristics</u>				<u>(*)</u>	<u>(**)</u>
Social mobility	Father's education level	Father's place of residence	Father's socio- class status	--	0.13	0.02
Ibid.	Mother's education level	Mother's place of residence	Mother's socio- class status	--	0.16	0.02
Territorial mobility	Father's education level	Father's place of residence	Father's socio- class status	--	0.42	0.18
Ibid.	Mother's education level	Mother's place of residence	Mother's socio- class status	--	0.42	0.18
Educational mobility	Mother's educational standard	Father's educational standard	Mother's socio- class status	Father's socio- class status	0.23	0.05

* Multiple correlation coefficient

** Variations coefficient

As the 1979 survey proves, a lesser part (no more than 25 percent) of the offspring of kolkhoz member and sovkhos worker families preserve their 1966 social status. This is explained by the fact that, as rule, they become involved in socially useful labor via the "short" educational system: after graduation from secondary specialized school or immediately after secondary school graduation.

In conclusion, let us consider the extent to which social origin retains its influence on the educational, territorial and social mobility of young people with secondary education. Since we are interested in the simultaneous consideration of the entire set of reciprocal influences, we must build a regression analysis model. It is precisely with its help that, on the basis of the values of the independent characteristics of the projects that we can find the values of dependent modeled features. Dependent features include the social, territorial and educational mobility of young people; the independent features are the level of education, place of residence and parental socioclass structure.

Table 3 shows significant values of the multiple correlation coefficient. In two out of the five cases we note the essential influence of argument characteristics on function characteristics. Therefore, we can say that parents exert a certain influence on the territorial mobility of young people. It

must be pointed out, however, that variations in this interaction are substantial. In only 18 percent of the cases is the influence of the parental social status on the territorial mobility of their children noticeable. Judging by regression analysis data, the social and educational mobility of young men and women graduates of secondary schools does not depend on the social characteristics of the senior generation.

Let us sum it up. Under the circumstances of increased social homogeneity of our society, the offspring of the various social groups and strata in the Estonian SSR have substantially equal opportunities in choosing their social status regardless of social origin. The trends of youth social mobility in the republic are quite typical of industrially developed and urbanized parts of the country.

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FOOTNOTE

1. In 1966 the respondents included 2,260 graduates of daytime and evening secondary general education schools. In the concluding stage, in 1979, 1,460 members of this contingent were surveyed. The author of this article participated in the final study. For the program and initial results of the survey see (1).

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EXPERIMENTAL SUBSTANTIATION OF SCALE POINTS QUANTITY

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(signed to press 25 Oct 84) pp 113-116

[Article by Farkhad Nazipovich Il'yasov, postgraduate student, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research. Specializing in problems of mass survey methods and techniques. This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] Scales are usually based on purely logical considerations.¹ However, the possibility of structuring scales of substantial different structures, including different gradations, exist within the framework of logical conceptualization. In the majority of cases, the reliability of the scale continuum is checked after the formulation of its model.² It is presumed that the established radical structures are entirely consistent with the real continuum existing in the awareness of the respondents (in terms of the number of gradations and symmetry). The legitimate question which arises, however, is the following: should the empirical substantiation of the scale structure not precede its application in surveys?

V. A. Yadov suggests the following experimental method for resolving this problem: "By gradually increasing the divisions of the measuring standard and, at the same time, testing the scale for stability, we reached a limit beyond which any further division lowers stability. It is precisely this variant which is the optimal point of accuracy in the use of the scale (5). However, in the use of a verbal scale the researcher proceeds from the assumption that the respondents have the same ability to differentiate between the positive and the negative parts of the scale, for which reason it is structured symmetrically. This assumption clearly needs a special substantiation, for the degree of balancing of the scale should be proportional to the real breakdown of the measured feature.

We made an attempt to build and use an experimental model the purpose of which was to determine the optimal number of divisions in a scale used in determining subjective evaluations and establish the degree of balancing of this scale (the number of positive and negative gradations).

We have no data indicating the connection between the ability to differentiate among subjective evaluations and the affiliation with groups different in terms of type of work, education, skills, etc. The structure of the selections made

for the experiment was based on the assumption that if such differences exist the maximal differentiating ability should be in the group whose work includes operations such as analysis and assessments. Young scientists were chosen as belonging to this group.

This experiment was the extension of a previous project of analyzing methods for determining the level of satisfaction with a job (6) and, in addition to the desire to achieve optimal measurement accuracy, was aimed at formulating substantiated recommendations for the standardization of a work satisfaction scale.

The person's ability to differentiate among his subjective assessments probably changes according to the differentiation object. Our experiment dealt with the ability of the respondent to differentiate among degrees of satisfaction with his work. Currently direct questioning is mostly used, with from three to 13 gradations, depending on the researcher. There is no substantiation whatsoever for the number of scale divisions used.

In our experiment we proceeded from the fact that the optimal number of scale gradations depends on the ability of the respondents to differentiate in their perception of the evaluation measures. In other words, if an individual can distinguish among A shades in describing a feature B, the optimal number of gradations in measuring feature B will be equal to A. The ability to differentiate among evaluations obviously depends, on the one hand, on the more general ability of the individual to differentiate among his own emotions and sensations and, on the other, the extent to which the area of the measured feature is important to him.

The degree of the symmetry in terms of the middle point on the scale was based on data such as the symmetry of the individual scale of the respondent (the ratio between the number of positive and negative alternatives selected by him).

The ability of respondents to differentiate among their assessments of their satisfaction with the work and, on this basis, establishing the optimum number of alternatives, was determined as follows: a 13-point verbal scale was drawn up.³ Initially we included the maximally possible number of alternatives reflecting various levels of satisfaction with the work. The alternatives were chosen on the basis of scientific publications and indicator files of the USSR AN ISI [Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research], as well as additional criteria. Subsequently, alternatives determining features other than satisfaction with the work (such as "I love my work," "This work depresses me," "I feel a depression at work," etc.) as well as synonymous and virtually identical evaluations were excluded.

The expert survey method was used in structuring the scale. Experts involved scientific associates from many USSR Academy of Sciences institutes, such as linguistics, Russian language, world literature, psychology and sociological research. The expert evaluation resulted in providing a one-dimensional description of the "satisfaction-dissatisfaction" with work quality continuum, in such a way that subjectively distances between alternatives were considered approximately equal. Furthermore, the expert evaluation enabled us to substantiate the symmetry of the scale.

The scale alternatives were printed on individual cards which were used in the survey conducted as a standardized interview. The survey included 67 people, 58 percent women and 42 percent men.

The respondent was given the shuffled cards with which to structure his individual work satisfaction scale. He selected the alternatives which, in his view, reflected most accurately his satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Since the survey was based on the scale, it equally described the studied feature, including its extreme values, for which reason this stage in the survey enabled us to single out all satisfaction assessments of the respondent. The respondent laid out the cards on the table from left to right according to the degree of satisfaction. If some of the chosen formulations turned out to have similar meanings (from the respondent's viewpoint), the cards were put one on top of the other. The indicator of the differentiating ability of the respondent was determined by the number of piles or the selected evaluations, i.e., the ability to distinguish was equal to the number of selected cards minus the number of combined alternatives.

The number of selected cards and "combined" alternatives, the sequence in which they were laid out and the number of selected evaluations were recorded in the interview form. On the basis of the accepted assumption that this number reflects the ability of the individual to differentiate among his own assessments of labor satisfaction, the average number of selected evaluations is taken to represent the averaged differentiating ability of the respondents. It is precisely this mean arithmetical which is the optimal number of divisions in structuring a satisfaction scale.

Based on the totals, the scale turned out to equal 5.3. The average number of selected positive assessments in the total was 2.84; negative assessments equaled 1.96. The positive section of the scale was used by the respondents 62 percent more frequently than the negative (the ratio between the sum of selected positive and negative assessments).

Relative Frequency of the Choice of Alternatives by Respondents
in Individual Scale Building, %

<u>Alternative</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
The work makes me happy	4.1
I derive enjoyment from the work	7.3
The work brings me pleasure	12.4
I feel great satisfaction from the work	9.2
I am satisfied with the work	13.6
I am more satisfied than dissatisfied with the work	8.3
I am both satisfied and dissatisfied with the work	12.2
I am more dissatisfied than satisfied	6.6
I am essentially dissatisfied with the work	4.6
I am dissatisfied with the work	9.0
I am extremely dissatisfied with the work	4.1
I experience a feeling close to disgust	4.9
I am disgusted with the work	3.7

Let us now move on to resolving the question of the optimal number of scale divisions used in determining work satisfaction. As became clear in the course of the experiment, the mean statistical ability to differentiate work satisfaction assessments was 5.3 divisions. Therefore, the optimal number of divisions ranges between 5 and 6; the highest accuracy can be achieved with the use of a 6-point scale. As to scale symmetry, the number of selected positive assessments was 62 percent higher than the negative. The respondents distinguished among 2.84 divisions in the positive and 1.96 in the negative parts in the scale. Rounding up the figures, we see that three divisions may be used in the positive part of the scale and two in the negative. Therefore, the results of this experiment favor the use of a 6-point scale with three positive, one middle and two negative gradations.

We know from other studies that disrupting the scale symmetry leads to a confusion of answers in the part in which the highest number of gradations is found. This fact is usually considered proof of the inexpediency of the use of a symmetric scale. However, this approach contradicts the stipulation introduced at the beginning of this article, according to which the degree of balancing of the scale should be consistent with the real breakdown of the measured feature. In this case, this applies to the nature of the reflection in the mind of the respondent of his satisfaction with the work from the viewpoint of the number of divisions and balancing of the scale. Differences in the respondents' ability to differentiate between the positive and negative parts of the scale are the consequence of shifting their scales toward the respective side. If the individual scale of the respondents shifts toward the positive or negative part, the scale used in the measurement should have a proportional shift. Therefore, an identical probability of each alternative in the survey will be secured.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Among the existing approaches in selecting the number of scale divisions we could single out the formal-logical (1,2), bearing in mind that "formal-mathematical results cannot be the only argument in the choice of a number of gradations" (2, p 55).
2. For example, G. I. Saganenko considers as principles governing the empirical optimizing of the already used scale based on indirect criteria, such as the nature of the scattering of values along the scale, the use-nonuse of part of the scale, and the elimination of scale divisions (3). Let us note that the ideal implementation of said criteria may lead to the creation of a scale all of whose divisions are equally graded not in accordance with the actual distribution but as a result of structural features. A similar approach, i.e., the use of the nature of the obtained empirical distribution in correcting the scale, using, however, an entropic analysis, may be found in N. I. Rostegayeva's work (4).
3. The 13-division scale was chosen because the maximal number of divisions used in determining work satisfaction was exactly 13, as well as on the basis of the assumption that the differentiating ability of the respondents does not exceed 13 gradations.

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COMPACT SYSTEM OF CODING SOCIOLOGICAL INFORMATION

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[Article by Talgat Raufovich Bareyev, senior engineer, chair of scientific communism, Kazan State University imeni V. I. Ul'yanov-Lenin. Ruzailiya Gabdel'nurovna Kasimova is junior scientific associate, chair of scientific communism, Kazan State Pedagogical Institute. This is their first article in our journal]

[Text] Encoding sociological data is one of the most labor-intensive processes. It accounts for 30 to 70 percent of the total time spent in data processing (1). Following is a method for compact encoding of sociological information, which significantly facilitates the processing of survey data.



The encoding of survey data is based on the inner machine code which, in turn, is based on a binary number system: existence of a character--1; absence of a character--0. Therefore, the information contained in the investigation is presented as a sequence of zeros and ones (2). However, entering such data in punch cards is labor-intensive and results in a large number of errors. In order to facilitate this work and reduce error probability, we suggest a compact encoding method based on a hexadecimal number system. Each sequence consisting of four binary signs is considered a specific hexadecimal number: 0000-0; 0001-1; 0010-2; 0011-3; 0100-4; 0101-5; 0110-6; 0111-7; 1000-8; 1001-9; 1010-A; 1011-B; 1100-C; 1101-D; 1110-E; and 1111-F.

As a result, the information is compactly "packaged" and the number of figures punched in a card is reduced by a factor of 4. This saves a considerable amount of time and facilitates the work. Since the punchcard contains 80 columns, it can contain information from a survey containing no more than 320 (80 x 4) choices. This is not to say, however, that said encoding system cannot be applied in processing large survey data. The point is that increasing the survey by even a single additional choice makes it necessary to put the information on two punch cards, which automatically doubles the array of punch cards. In the majority of cases, 320 choices are entirely adequate for research purposes.

In our case, each choice (characteristic) of a survey is a binary number system. The first is consolidated, combining all choices; the second is positional, within each survey question. The consolidated number system calls for an additional number for taking into consideration the number of people who have failed to answer one question or another (3).

A special table is drawn up in formulating the survey, used to encode the resulting information. As a rule, it is printed on the back of the front page of the form. Let us use a specific example of such a table used in the survey "Study of the Political Culture of Students in Kazan," consisting of 52 questions offering a total of 304 choices (see figure).

1	2	3	4
8	3	B	8
5	6	7	8
2			

The following are the first four questions:

1. How frequently do you read a newspaper? 001.1. Daily. 002.2. Several times weekly. 003.3. I look at the newspaper at least once a week. 004.4. As a rule, I have no time to read newspapers. 005.5. I am not interested in newspapers. 006.

2. What sociopolitical journals do you read? 007.1. ZA RUBEZHOM. 008.2. KOMSOMOL'SKAYA ZHIZN'. 009.3. ROVESNIK. 010.4. MOLODOY KOMMUNIST. 011.5. STUDENCHESKIY MERIDIAN. 012.6. NOVOYE VREMYA. 013.7. POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE. 014.8. Other (name). 015.9. None of the above. 016.

3. What type of materials interests you most in newspapers and journals? 017.1. International topics. 018.2. Life in our country. 019.3. Economic topics. 020.4. Party and Komsomol work. 021.5. Morality topics. 022.6. Problems of literature and the arts. 023.7. Family topics. 024.8. Youth life. 025.9. Sports. 026.10. Other (name). 027.

4. What do you do to increase your political knowledge? 028.1. I buy sociopolitical publications. 029.2. I subscribe to sociopolitical journals. 030.3. I use the library. 031.4. I use the library at home. 032.5. I see and listen to radio and television programs on political topics. 033.6. I read newspapers. 034.7. Other (name). 035.

In the table as many spaces are assigned for each question as there are choices (including the "no answer" choice). The questions are demarcated with vertical lines (see Fig.1). The number of the question is located between two lines. Thus, the first question contains six positions, the second 10, the third 11, the fourth eight, etc. As we may see, the table reflects the structure of the survey. Each line in the table is divided into blocks of four positions each (block boundaries noted by vertical strikes below the line). Obviously, there are 16 choices per block (Fig. 1, left column). Choices are marked with an X in the proper position in the table. Each variant in the block has its code-symbol (a hexadecimal number). In filling the table, the encoder puts a hexadecimal code under each block. The thus-encoded information is then directly transferred from the table to the punch card. If we go back to the part of the survey and consider it completed by the respondent (the number of selected choices is in bold letters), the respective part of the table will look like the one shown in Fig. 2 and a sequence of the symbols 83B8E5802 will be punched on the card. In this manner, the entire information of this survey will be encoded with the help of 76 ($304 \div 4$).

Unlike the most popular encoding methods (4) with this method all entries have a fixed length regardless of the number of choices noted by the respondents in questions which allow several answers. This method enables us to control the quality of the forms with the help of the table. It is not necessary to file the survey forms. It is sufficient to preserve their encoding tables and two or three forms as a model.

Let us note in conclusion that this method for encoding sociological data has proved its practical worth in a course of studies conducted by associates in Kazan VUZ--the University and the Pedagogical Institute.

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LATEST TRENDS IN CONTEMPORARY BOURGEOIS SOCIOLOGY

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[Analytical Survey]

[Text] As already reported (No 2, 1984), the regular 11th Congress of the International Sociological Association will take place in New Delhi, capital of India, in August 1986. The theme of the congress will be "Social Changes--Problems and Future." Starting with this issue, the editors will publish materials on the topics to be discussed at the congress. Today this section, which is traditional for this journal and is invariably presented before each congress, opens with a survey article drafted by the problem group for critique of bourgeois sociology of the USSR AN ISI [Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research]. Yu. N. Davydov, M. S. Kovaleva, N. T. Kremlev, S. M. Mitina, A. F. Filippov and V. N. Fomina participated in making this survey. The purpose of this article is to provide a general view of the changes which are currently taking place in bourgeois sociology. It is not excluded that such changes, which have been reflected in current sociological writings, will be reflected in the papers submitted at the congress as well. In any case, acquainting our scientific public with the latest trends making their way in Western sociology will be of use to Marxist sociologists, particularly in their preparations for the congress.

The study of works which came out in the second half of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s in the West proves that very symptomatic and far-reaching changes are taking place in bourgeois sociology. So far, they were either ignored by Soviet social scientists or considered only partially, fragmentarily, regardless of their general theoretical, ideological and political significance. Yet it is a question of far-reaching efforts of sociophilosophical and methodological rearming of bourgeois sociological theory.

It is worth noting that although we are dealing here with a major turn of a general theoretical order, its initiators today are less theoretical sociologists than scientists working in specific sociological areas. Dealing with

specific sociological studies, as a rule they exert a more immediate influence on processes directly related to formulating a strategy for applied developments. For that reason their general methodological and sociophilosophical studies deserve significantly greater attention from the viewpoint of future trends in Western sociology. The study of such trends will enable us to draw a few well-substantiated conclusions on the direction currently followed in the development of bourgeois sociology as a whole, including applied research.

The following turning points are noteworthy in the analytical consideration of sociological literature, expressively confirming the restructuring taking place in Western sociology.

1. Intensification of so-called "stabilization" aspirations in contemporary bourgeois awareness in general and the awareness of Western sociologists, in particular, in opposition to the "crisis" trends which dominated the preceding period (1960s-first half of the 1970s).
2. The appearance of a new line of ideological polarization in sociology, due to the growth, on the one hand, of neoconservative and, on the other, right-wing radical trends in the West, paralleling political demarcation.
3. Conversion by bourgeois sociologists from a brief attraction to Marxism, interpreted in a spirit of petty-bourgeois nihilism and revolutionarism ("neo-Marxism") to Max Weber's "renaissance," in search for a solution to the methodological crisis in which, as held by widespread opinion, Western sociological thinking finds itself.
4. A shift (in recent years) of the "epicenter" of theoretical innovations to Western Europe, the FRG above all, fraught with the possible loss by U.S. scientists of their monopoly status in sociological theory, offering Western European scientists a possibility of theoretical emancipation from the American "sociological establishment."

We shall describe in greater detail each of these aspects in order to be able subsequently to show their inner ties.

Intensification of "stabilization" trends in contemporary bourgeois consciousness. The most general characteristic indicating a turn in contemporary bourgeois sociology is the change in the dominating "type of consciousness" (forms of world perception, dominant frame of mind, etc.), under the sign of which it has developed during the period immediately preceding the one under consideration. In the 1960s and first half of the 1970s, the dominating frame of mind of Western sociologists was "awareness of crisis" ("crisis awareness") which concentrated on profoundly conflicting antinomian trends in bourgeois consciousness in general and sociological awareness in particular. Starting with the mid-1970s, and contrary to this "type of consciousness," an aspiration developed to replace endless complaints about the crisis with a "positive," "constructive," etc., possibility of coming out of it. It was precisely in such efforts that the "stabilization consciousness" of Western sociologists was manifested.

Let us recall that in the United States the harbingers of the idea of the crisis in bourgeois sociology (other than the new Marxists of the Frankfurt school--Horkheimer, Marcuse, and others, who had spoken of this even before World War II) were the following: left-wing radical sociologists, C. W. Mills (1) and his followers, led by I. Horowitz and, finally, A. Gouldner, who published the monograph "The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology" (2) in 1970. In the FRG this idea was supported by Marxist sociologists such as, for example, H. Holzer, who published the book called "Sociology in the FRG: Chaos of Theories and Reproduction of Ideology" (3). Holzer links the characteristics of the internal crisis in West German sociology, which, in his view, had become apparent as early as the 1960s, above all to the loss of faith in American sociology and American society.

By the mid-1970s it had become clear that one of the very essential sources for the aggravation of the crisis in bourgeois consciousness, reflected in sociology, was the breakdown of the "Protestant ethic," i.e., the ethic of individual work, private initiative and personal responsibility, which had gone too far under the conditions of the "consumer society" ("permissive society," "hedonistic society," etc.). Yet it was precisely with this that Western sociologists (who, after Weber, had analyzed this phenomenon in the work "Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism" (4) linked economic successes achieved by private enterprise and "Western" civilization in general.

The fact that the prestige of individual work, private initiative and individual responsibility had drastically declined in the West was confirmed, on the one hand, by a series of sociological surveys and, on the other, the ideology of the counterculture which became widespread by the turn of the 1970s (particularly among young people), with its typical rejection of the moral meaning of labor and declaration of "total war" on labor ethics (in this connection, see the books by the ideologues of the counterculture: Reich's "The Greening of America" (5) and Roszak's "The Making of a Counterculture" (6).

The awareness and theoretical interpretation of said circumstance intensified in Western intellectuals a feeling of a general crisis in bourgeois world outlook. The superior values of bourgeois civilization which, according to Weber and his contemporary followers, are the foundations for the "spirit of capitalism," were questioned.

However, in this same ideological atmosphere, an essentially different conceptual and theoretical trend and an aspiration toward a stabilization of bourgeois, social and, above all, moral consciousness appeared and began to grow in the second half of the 1970s. Initially, it was related to the immediate reaction on the part of a number of American social strata to the headlong growth of criminality, breakdown of the family and persistent unwillingness on the part of a certain percentage of young people to hold jobs or, in a word, everything known in the West as a "drop in morals." In theoretical and publicistic works this frame of mind was manifested in an ideology of stabilization (starting with morality, followed by social consciousness as a whole and, finally, bourgeois society as such). It was only subsequently, when it

became obvious that it is a question of a new frame of mind of the mass of the electorate, this ideology, described as neoconservatism, was used by some political forces to organize a shift to the right in political life.

This situation was reflected in a stream of corresponding ideological publications on which this analysis is based.

Political demarcations and ideological confrontations. The trend toward "stabilization consciousness" is far broader than ideologizing neoconservatism and frequently has nothing in common with the "new right." We must strictly distinguish among the following:

1. The common gravitation by a great variety of population categories in capitalist countries toward "strengthening mores," "stabilizing the family," restoring the "labor ethic" and so on.
2. The aspiration of a certain segment of Western intelligentsia to "stabilize" social consciousness and of Western sociologists to find a solution to the sociological crisis by offering a constructive methodological prospect.
3. Molding (naturally, tendentiously) this entire frame of mind in the shape of a rather loose "new conservative outlook" followed by a "neoconservative ideology."
4. Finally, use of this ideology by right-wing political forces for the sake of sanctifying their objectives, relating them to the "stabilization" frame of mind of the electorate.

Such distinctions are particularly important from the counterpropaganda viewpoint, for they enable us to expose more effectively the claims of reactionary militaristic forces, which are actively using in their electoral manipulations some popular slogans of the "stabilization" and neoconservative variety. Furthermore, we must take into consideration a political demarcation which has become quite definite over the past 10 years between neoconservatism and "the new right." The more so since, although not directly, this demarcation has a far-reaching indirect impact on ideological confrontations even within bourgeois sociology.

It is true that said demarcation did not take place so clearly and consistently in all capitalist countries, for in this case everything depends on the specific ratio among social, political and ideological forces. In the United States, for example, the right wing, which assumed power, among others, also because it was able to outstrip its political rivals in using currently fashionable conservative feelings, was able to create the appearance of unity among all ideological and political right of center trends (presented as "neoliberalism"). It was for that reason that the features of the "neoconservatives" and "new right" blended in the public (mass in particular) consciousness, something which had and still has dangerous ideological consequences.

The circumstance that today's prophets of the new conservative social philosophy--R. Nisbet and M. Novak (8)--frequently reach conclusions which are hardly different from those of the "new right" in their views on the idea of social equality, greatly contributed to the mixing of different sociopolitical aspirations in the United States. Although other supporters of neoconservative social philosophy (such as I. Kristol [9] and D. Bell [10], the latter being sometimes referred to, somewhat ironically, as a "social democratic neoconservative") do not go that far, the trend toward the erosion of the boundary separating neoconservatism from "the new right" is clearly dominant here both on the political and the conceptual and ideological levels.

As to Western European countries, the FRG for example, where not only is the historical memory of Nazism alive but where neofascism constantly reminds of its existence, repelling the "average voter" no less than any other extremism, the political forces which rely on neoconservatism must do everything possible to separate themselves from the "new right," which is clearly sympathetic to the neofascists (and which argues with them not so much about the objectives than the means of achieving them). That is why the political demarcation between neoconservatism and the "new right" is much clearer here than in the United States and the clash between theoretical positions held by sociologists on prospects for "stabilizing" social awareness and sociological theory is much more noticeable.

Although anthropologically oriented sociologists (such as Ghelen and Schelsky, to whom the ideologues of the "new right" sometimes tend to appeal) dedicated a great deal of effort in their time to refute charges of partiality toward the Nazi regime, their new conservative opponents continued to hint at the existence of such a tie. On the strictly theoretical level, it is seen in the insurmountable and essentially insurmountable biologism of the type of sociological orientation which during Hitler's time led its supporters to draw racist conclusions. Today anthropologically oriented biologism in sociology and the closely linked fatalism in conceiving of the future developments of science and technology, are targets of sharp criticism precisely on the part of neoconservative sociologists in the FRG (11).

The picture in France is different. Here the liberal and the neoconservative trend, which is somewhat linked with the former, are traditionally weak and amorphous. The recent ideological and political demarcation among the masses and the intellectuals looks exclusively as a confrontation between "left" and "right" and, respectively, the "new left" and "new right." Other processes are virtually indistinguishable beyond this confrontation. That is why, so far it is difficult to identify the neoconservative orientation in France. Supporters of the stabilization idea here are considered to be essentially the "new right," who extensively use for their selfish purposes the inability of the French public to distinguish among different nuances in the ideological-political spectrum. This is confirmed by the successes achieved by the right-wing radical political forces in France in the recent elections for the European Parliament.

Such political separations and ideological confrontations should be taken into consideration in raising the question of qualifying the turning sociological

trend operating under the slogan of the constructive elimination of the sociological crisis. We must bear in mind that by virtue of the reasons we mentioned, by no means have all sociologists, who are offering today various alternate solutions to the crisis, would agree to being classified as neo-conservative (their Western theoretical opponents as well would not agree to such a simple qualification). A particularly carefully weighed study is necessary in assessing the orientation of such sociologists. As to sociologists who identify themselves with the neoconservatives without any particular caveats, as a rule they object to being classified with the "new right," referring to their theoretical and publicistic writings against right-wing radical trends in politics and ideology. We would be equally wrong to ignore such manifestations of ideological and political self awareness, bearing in mind that it is precisely such an awareness that motivates the taking of a number of politically significant steps such as, for example, voting for the candidates of some parties and rejecting the candidates of others. Finally, we must take into consideration that a certain percentage of Western European sociologists tends to listen to the appeals of the Green Party, which claims to be "above-party" and would like to combine political aspirations which, in some cases, are hardly compatible with each other.

Such are some of the considerations based on the study of the appearance of yet another line in the ideological-political demarcations and confrontations which have been noted in the past 10 years within the bourgeois "sociological establishment." We believe that they should not be ignored in the course of preparations for the forthcoming World Sociological Congress.

"Weber's renaissance." Consistent with the general spirit of "moral rearmament," with which the "stabilization consciousness" is affiliating itself today in the West, bourgeois sociologists, who are trying to surmount the protracted crisis in their science, see a possible solution not only in the methodological but the ethical rearmament of sociology. The unexpectedly identified link between these two quite heterogeneous aspects of the "stabilization" sociological aspiration necessitates a special clarification. This is not simply a case that ethical problems, which were clearly underestimated by bourgeois sociologists in the "scientific" period, which occurred immediately after World War II, and the "revolutionary" period of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, is today clearly advancing to the proscenium in close connection precisely with problems of sociological theory. As J. Weiss proved in his work on Weber, ethical problems have their own methodological significance in shaping sociological theory (21). In this connection, the problem of "economic ethics," which was formulated by M. Weber himself (4), becomes relevant and assumes methodological significance. This concept, the very term of which paradoxically combines economic ("economic") "moral" ("ethos") aspects, is one again placed in the center of sociological debates, encouraging professional sociologists to take the path to the creation of philosophical-historical elaborations.

In linking the fate of capitalism in Western-bourgeois capitalist civilization with the prospect of the establishment, popularization and, above all, preservation of the corresponding "economic ethic," the contemporary followers of Weber (the number of which has increased fitfully over the past 10 years) are

trying to forecast the future of capitalist society by relying precisely on the sociological study of the current condition of the "ethics of individual work" and "personal responsibility" in Western countries. Yet, since this condition clearly leaves something better to be desired, furthermore, promising an even more somber immediate and distant future, in their specific works, again and again the sociologists encounter the very same problem which has long been discussed by neoconservative social philosophers and publicists: how to stabilize the "labor ethic?" Is this possible at all, bearing in mind the far-advanced process of its decomposition?

For the Western sociologists who answer the second question in the affirmative, the approach to resolving the first is the following: in their view, going back to the sources, i.e., to the genesis of capitalism, it is necessary to study the process of formation and assertion of the "labor ethic" with the methods of comparative-historical sociology and, subsequently, taking a similar trip to the past, suggest something in the nature of a model for the stabilization of mores, customs and traditions, which would ensure the "reenergizing" of capitalist economic ethics. A roughly similar train of thought may be traced throughout an entire series of books and articles dealing with Weberian sociology.

Particularly interesting in this connection are works which analyze the sociology of Weber's religion, which he considered both a form of cultural-historical interpretation of the origins (of "Western") capitalism and its destinies. Indicative in terms of the topic of such works are the studies made by Benjamin Nelson, from his article "Weber's Protestant Ethic" (1973) (12) to his paper "Max Weber, Difficulties and Dilemmas of Contemporary Universal Rationalized Post-Christian Civilization" (1981) (13). Let us particularly single out his book "Origin of Contemporaneity" (14), which came out in the FRG in 1977. Let us note that the general trend of the work by W. Sprondel, starting with his article "Social Change, Ideas and Interests: Systematic Analysis of M. Weber's Protestant Ethic," which was published in 1973, and the collection "Religion and Social Development. Studies on Weber's Thesis Relative to Protestantism-Capitalism" (15), which he coedited with Constance Seyfarth. Quite symptomatic, by virtue of its very topic, is also W. Schlucher's work "Rationalization Paradox. On the Characteristic of the Relationship Between 'Ethics' and 'World' in Max Weber," which came out in 1976 in the West German ZEITSCHRIFT FUR SOCIOLOGIE (16) which, after J. Weiss' work (20) gave an impetus for a series of subsequent studies in FRG sociology of the "paradox of rationalization," which stemmed from the "Protestant Ethic."

These works, like many others (23-25), indicate that Western sociology, oriented toward the events of today, also lays claim not only to forecasting the future but also actively participating in making such forecasts come true, revealing the growing interest of researchers moving along the current of comparative-historical sociology and paying close attention to the origins of capitalism and its cultural and historical features. M. Weber invariably shows up in a leading position among them. As we know, he not only formulated the idea of connecting the "spirit of capitalism" with Protestant "economic ethics," but also saw in the very fact of the tie between ethics and economics the cultural-historical peculiarity of contemporary "Western civilization," unlike the Indian, Chinese, etc.

A return to Weber today is motivated in the West also by the entirely specific interest which has arisen in the specific sociological areas that are clearly experiencing the need for the type of methodology which would take fully into consideration the qualitative specifics of the object of research. This interest is consistent with Weber's aspiration to develop a sociological methodology not only with the help of developing "general ideas" but also with analytical concepts which can be concretized and specified and developed in the course of a more profound theoretical interpretation of empirical data. The ability organically to relate a specific-empirical with an abstract-theoretical level of research by setting the studied fact within a broad sociohistorical framework is what makes Weber impressive to today's sociologists, who have become clearly tired of the gap between theory and practice, under the sign of which bourgeois sociology has been developing so far. Inasmuch as this gap is considered today one of the manifestations of the crisis in sociology, a return to "understanding" Weberian sociology is also linked to the hope of surmounting the crisis (18, p 8).

Finally, rising interest in Weber's comparative-historical sociology is further stimulated by considering the "sociology of development" as a special area of sociological knowledge, the main problem in which is the inter-relationship between industrially developed and developing countries. The conflicts and difficulties which arise in this case are interpreted in contemporary development sociology through concepts which, among others, have been more profoundly developed within the framework of comparative-historical sociological research conducted by Weber, such as in the course of a comparative analysis of "economic ethics" in world religions.

It was all of this together that led to the increased interest in Weber in the sociology of the 1970s, eventually becoming quite a popular fashion among its most energetic prophets, known as "Weber's renaissance." For the sake of fairness, let us emphasize that not only in the United States but in Western Europe as well some scientists are by no means inclined to make such enthusiastic evaluations. R. Munch, for example, who continues to prefer Parsons to Weber, has expressed himself more cautiously, pointing out that we are noticing today merely a "noticeable enlivening of debates concerning Weber" (17, p 774). However, since not without a reason is he considered the representative of "American" orientation in Western European sociology, such ("lowered") assessment of the current interest shown in Weber seems tendentious to most sociologists of the "middle" generation (the 35-45 age group), who are most active in Western sociology. Naturally, this applies above all to sociologists in the FRG, as confirmed by the clearly programmatic article by four authors (Sprondel, Seyfarth, Konau and Schmidt) on the occasion of the 80th birthday of J. Winkelmann (18), who is a well-known student and publisher of Weber's works. The article most clearly speaks of a "Weberian renaissance" experienced by German sociology toward the end of the 1970s and, particularly, today (18, p 7). An effort is even being made to offer in this connection something like "programmatic concepts" in assessing the contemporary significance of Weber's theoretical legacy.

According to the authors, this "renaissance" is something quite different from the flood of publications on Weber, on the occasion of the centennial of his

birth (1964) and the 50th anniversary of his death (1970). It is not only a question of the fact that such publications keep growing on a purely quantitative level. Sprondel and his coauthors relate the characteristics of today's situation with the internal restructuring which, in their view, is taking place in Western (West German in particular) sociology, i.e., against the background of the sociological crisis. For this crisis, if we are to believe the authors of the article, had to do, at least in one of its numerous aspects, with the "expansion" of sociology and a paralleled expansion of the "internal differentiation" in sociological knowledge (18, p 8).

According to another article by Sprondel and Seyfarth, the reason for this interest "is determined sociologically, in the precise meaning of the term" (27, p VI) within the framework of the current interest in the basic categories of Weber's sociology, including that of rationality. Yet, as was the case during the 1960s, in the publications which came out in connection with the centennial of Weber's birth, this interest was more of a sociophilosophical nature, for the tone of the discussion of Weber's problems was set at that time essentially by philosophers, followed by economists and historians rather than sociologists (27, p VI). That is why, Sprondel and Seyfarth conclude, "Weber's sociological transformation" of problems such as "rationality," "rationalization" and "ability to rationalize social action," again considered against the background of Weber's "comparative-historical and universal-historical analyses," remains "unexhausted" to this day (27, p VI).

This circumstance involves yet another feature of "Weberian renaissance" (characterizing today's general turn in sociology): its initiators and prophets act not as social philosophers, historians or economists, but as professional sociologists specializing in specific sociological areas, such as industrial sociology and the sociology of management, politics and the intellectuals, not to mention specialists in the sociology of religion and the law. For this reason, Western expectations based on "Weberian renaissance" go far beyond specific results of a general theoretical or research order, compared to all previously outbursts of social interest shown in Weber.

Although the present "Weberian renaissance" displays a perfectly clear sociopolitical "nucleus," which links this rather local phenomenon to a general turn toward a "stabilization awareness," a series of inherent intrasociological motifs which brought it to life may be traced. In this case an interest in a "reliable theory," coming "from below"--from the level of the specific empirical study--plays an important role. Such a theory would be consistent with the current condition of sociological knowledge, which is threatened with a breakdown into a number of "specific sociological areas" interrelated almost exclusively on a purely nominal basis. Weber's sociological legacy turns out to be in this case a "testing ground," quite suitable for trying to combine "large-scale" sociological theory (which is constantly running the risk of becoming the latest philosophy of history) with specific analytical aspirations of sociologists working in "specific" areas.

Although all of this proves that the increased interest shown in Weber in Western sociology is indeed dictated today by the need for its methodological rearmament, which is facing bourgeois sociologists more urgently because of

the crisis in sociological theory, we should not ignore the ideological and even the propaganda aspect of "Weberian renaissance." The prophets of the latter do not miss the opportunity to point out that this phenomenon "should be unquestionably considered comprehensively tied to the decline of the Marxist wave" (18, pp 7-8) which essentially means a decline in ideological and theoretical activeness of neo-Marxism, which presented its concepts in the guise of "authentic Marxism" (for a critique of these concepts see (19)).

The struggle against neo-Marxist nihilism and leftism, which is frequently and totally groundlessly (not to mention tendentiously) presented as a "refutation of Marxist sociology," has indeed been (and, in a number of cases, has remained) one of the reasons motivating bourgeois sociologists to adopt a nonradical orientation and to turn to Weber with increasing frequency. So neo-Marxist authors (Horkheimer, Adorno and Marcuse above all) have themselves been quite frequently concerned by the shadow cast by this sociologist, from whom they borrowed the category of "rationality" (interpreted as "alienation"). In arguing with them, their theoretical opponents have unwittingly had to turn to the "real Weber" (a motif which is present in contemporary "Weberiana" to this day). It was thus that, little by little, by the turn of the 1970s, the idea appeared of pitting something like "authentic Weberianism" against the new Marxists' "authentic Marxism." Naturally, the rightist-oriented sociologists did not fail to present this trend as a struggle against Marxism in general, although a characteristic feature of most "neo-Weberians" is a "loyal" attitude toward Marx the sociologist, accompanied by the aspiration to "raise" Weber to his level.

The point is that today no single somewhat serious student of social processes, whatever his ideological or theoretical orientation may be, can ignore Marx's sociological legacy. Bourgeois sociologists have invariably been highly interested in Marx, who has always been listed first in the triad of founders of contemporary Western sociology: Marx, Weber, Durkheim. However, from time to time the fact that bourgeois awareness is split between two irreconcilable trends--"crisis" and "stabilization"--creates a characteristic phenomenon: making one philosopher or another fashionable, as trends fluctuate. For example, the "Weberian renaissance" was preceded by enthusiasm for Marx's creative legacy (1960s and beginning of 1970s), interpreted in a spirit of petit bourgeois revolutionarism. Naturally, by no means was the entire system of Marx's views put into circulation, but rather the artificially isolated "fragments" of his works, which could be "interpreted" in the proper spirit. The "neo-Marxists" who were reworking Marxism in the spirit of petit bourgeois revolutionism, opened the way to the bourgeois sociological establishment followed by left-wing radical sociologists (for details see (19)).

As neo-Marxism and left-wing sociology were losing their positions, one enthusiasm was replaced with another--with Weber. Weber impresses today's bourgeois sociologists, who are more moderate than their anarchic-leaning predecessors, with his ethical orientation of "sociologizing" ethical problems (and, respectively, "ethicizing" sociological problems) and his desire to interpret socio-cultural factors which stabilize capitalism. However, at this point the significance of Marxist sociological theory is no longer rejected, as was the case by the turn of the 1950s. Conversely, the prophets of "Weberian renaissance" are trying to find some kind of "compromise formula" between Marx and

Weber. For example, in the article we mentioned on the occasion of Winkelman's 80th birthday, Marx is equated with Weber by being equally classified as "classics": "...Weber is a classic of sociology above all in the sense that Durkheim, Marx or Zimmel are.... Against this background, for example, Marx and Weber are presented not in terms of their specific meaning contradictions and even not in terms of being reciprocally complementary but, above all, in terms of a time sequence. They describe different phases of social and economic development; they represent the different stages in the development of social sciences and science as related to culture, political economy and social economy above all" (18, p 9).

This method, as we can see, contains a large dose of Macchiavellianism. It begins by offering to the reader a "synthesis" of the identically "classical" doctrines of Marx and Weber, within the framework of which they are initially "equated" as philosophers reflecting two essentially important stages in the development of capitalism (18, p 9). They are then...immediately pitted one against the other, with a view to giving a great preference to Weber for he, allegedly, was able to reflect a "more contemporary" stage in the development of capitalism. It is here that we find the ideological premise of the "Weberian renaissance"--his class prejudice, which is so poorly connected to the "objectivistic" intonation of the neo-Weberians.

Shifting the epicenter of sociological innovations to Western Europe. It would be erroneous to reduce the ideological content of the "Weberian renaissance" merely to this trend. We cannot fail to feel among the ideological aspirations which encourage interest in Weber a strong aftertaste of anti-Americanism on the part of Western European sociologists and their desire to use Weber in pitting Western European sociological tradition (as primary) against the American (as secondary and superficial). We find such motifs in G. Schmidt (FRG), for example, who relates the interpretation of Weber's sociology as being "atomistic and voluntaristic-subjectivistic" (21, p 8), and false in his opinion, to the way in which Weber was seen, being "reimported from the United States," where his views were supported after being suitably reworked. In suggesting that such an interpretation of the views of the scientist be ignored, Schmidt thus argues with Parsons, who is one of those who "imported" Weber from the United States and subsequently interpreted his theory of social action in a voluntaristic-objectivistic spirit.

Efforts to interpret Weber as having "sneaked by Parsons," whose interpretation of Weber's social action theory was considered almost canonical, were made by J. Weiss (20), W. Schauchter (25), W. Sprondel, C. Seyfarth and F. Tenbruk (22) (whose article on Weber also triggered a loud response) in the FRG. Once again one can sense behind such efforts the persistent aspiration to defend the autonomy of European (in this case West German) sociology against U. S. aspirations to sociological hegemony. "Weberian renaissance" offers a sufficiently convenient reason for such ideological aspiration, bearing in mind the tremendous influence which Weber has had on U.S. theoretical sociology, a fact which enables the Europeans here again to raise the question of their sociological primogeniture.

However, bearing in mind the extraordinary role played by the "Weberian renaissance" and (in the opposite sense) the process of the methodological

rearmament of bourgeois sociology on the one hand, and the contribution of this renaissance of West German sociology, on the other, we must note the fact that the "epicenter" of contemporary sociological innovations has shifted to Western Europe. Here, in the FRG in particular, current theoretical thinking is particularly active, carried away by the prospect of pulling out of the crisis through Weber's "integral interpretation" and a "new reconstruction" of the essential ideas of his comparative-historical "understanding" sociology. Noteworthy in this respect are statements by G. Schmidt. Calling for "back to Weber," he interprets both as a turn to the "meaningful Weberian statements" and a development of a research strategy based on Weber's legacy, which makes it possible to avoid the "specific weaknesses of functionalism, Parson's above all, on the one hand, and Marxism, on the other" (21, p 85). Once again, this applies less to classical Marxism than to neo-Marxism with its claim of being Marx's "authentic" interpreter.

In his article "Max Weber's Contribution to Empirical Research in Industry," Schmidt persistently promotes the idea that Weber's sociological legacy is of interest to him precisely on the level of the formulation of a new strategy for specific research. In his view, applied sociological disciplines need the type of "research-strategic awareness" which would combine the study of its subject with a "problem situation," on the one hand, and a "problem perspective," on the other, accomplishing this on the basis of the methodological identification of "social problem situations and problem perspectives" (21, p 88). Let us bear in mind that all of this is being said not in connection with general sociological problems but with problems in specific areas of sociological knowledge.

Naturally, the fact that interest in general sociological theory and methodology is growing in the FRG "from below," so to say, does not eliminate the movement "from above," which is traditional to sociological knowledge, from the theoretical-methodological level to the empirical level (see (23-26)). Stimulated by the interest shown by applied sociologists in the strategic problems of sociological research, i.e., problems which will determine specific research trends tomorrow, the theoretical sociologists are making additional efforts at least to keep up with this general process. Here as well their efforts are assisted by the "Weberian renaissance," considering that this sociologist is known not only for his studies, which laid the beginning of a number of specific areas of sociological knowledge, but also the aggravated methodological reflection, the need for which has been so greatly talked about in the West in connection with the crisis in sociology. Interest in Weber's "methodological reflection" stimulated the interest of bourgeois sociologists in his neo-Kantian teachers (Windelband, Rickert) and, therefore, in Kant himself.

A growing interest in Kant among Western sociologists has been another characteristic trend in modern bourgeois sociology for the past 10 years (1974-1984). It is a question not only of the scope but the depth of this interest: Kantian problems "open up" to the sociologists as the internal problems of their own studies. A specific contributing factor here is that Western sociologists were led to Kant by two although internally related, nevertheless different trends: the "methodological reflection," stimulated by debates on

the crisis in bourgeois sociology and increased interest in ethical problems, which sociologists with a "stabilization" orientation legitimized as "strictly sociological" problems. In this connection, a particularly critical study must be made by Marxist sociologists of R. Munch's efforts to bring together Weber, Durkheim and Parsons on the basis of Kantian gnosiology (26).

However, the "stabilization" trends in contemporary bourgeois sociology have remained so far no more than pious wishes and more or less diverging efforts to find a solution to the "crisis situation" in which not only Western sociology but capitalist society as a whole find themselves. Such disparate directions and nature of attempts to resolve the situation of incompatibility of competing "paradigms," followed by the various trends in contemporary bourgeois sociology, merely emphasize the profoundly conflicting, antinomial tasks facing the spokesmen for the "stabilization" sociological trend.

However, the most profound antinomy of this task is characterized more than anything else by figures with whose help Western sociologists are trying today to offer a prospect for resolving the crisis in bourgeois sociological science. For Weber, to whom Western scientists appeal today, entered the history of bourgeois 20th century culture as a personality in a deep state of crisis, embodying the disturbed consciousness of a bourgeois intelligentsia shaken up by revolutionary events.

How deep must contradictions in contemporary bourgeois sociology (reflecting the crisis in bourgeois consciousness in general) be for even the "crisis" in Weber's consciousness, not deprived of "nihilistic" overtones, to appear as the embodiment of the ideal of today's "stabilization" consciousness of Western sociologists! This circumstance alone suffices to realize the extent of the contradictoriness of the "stabilization" trend itself in bourgeois sociology.

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FROM THE EDITORIAL MAIL

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 84
(signed to press 25 Oct 84) pp 172-176

[Text] Yu. L. Kachanov, Moscow: "'Image of Society,' Social Indicators, Context"

I am writing in reference to G. S. Batygin's article "Substantiation of Interpretation Systems" (No 2, 1984). The author focuses on the "interpretation system as a characteristic 'cell' of a scientific conclusion." Publications on scientific methodology have convincingly proved that the choice of a theory is not determined by facts by themselves but only by facts interpreted in the context of specific regulatory principles. Consequently, the main question in substantiating a scientific conclusion is a study of the manner in which such principles are established. In my view, the author has left incomplete the exceptionally important idea of the social context of the establishment of introductory and interpretative procedures to be followed in the research process. It may be assumed, in particular, that scientific facts, including empirically established characteristics, can be interpreted only by exceeding the framework of "rational" interpretation systems. Batygin does not answer this question but his view may be extended, which is what I shall try to attempt.

Singling out the cause and effect link between specific facts is considered a necessary prerequisite for acquiring new knowledge in the empirical sciences; the role of the scientific conclusion is reduced to the deployment of facts in the explanatory model. Abstract idealized objects without empirical correlative factors are determined not empirically but analytically, in regulating theoretical knowledge developing within the framework of a hypothetical-deductive rationality model. A similar state of affairs is encountered in sociology as well, where the determination of empirical characteristics (indicators) is identified with the acquisition of new knowledge. This leads to the conversion of sociological indicators into a separate reality, regardless of the conceptual means used for the study of reality.

The elaboration of sociological theory is frequently replaced with the building of a social indicator system. The point is that the social indicator is the result of multiple intermediary features of a specific variety in the transformed forms of the ideal. The problem, above all, is that ordinary concepts are implicitly included in the structure of theoretical sociological

knowledge, creating an integral model of scientific rationality. "Obviously, ordinary experience indicates something greater than the ordinary concepts of the researcher," Batygin writes. "It is a question of a form of idealized object specific of social knowledge, which includes nonstructured and fictionalized components." Such an "integral image of society" is not a closed formalized system of knowledge and is never totally realized or put down by the scientists, but functions in an unclear form as a prerequisite and condition for systematizing an integrating knowledge. Since it does not coincide with the system of theoretical postulates in the science of sociology, it is assimilated in the guise of visual concepts, rules of consistency and actual statements and includes a sociocultural background within which the scientific discipline takes shape. It is precisely the sociocultural background which acts as the extrascientific factor which regulates the mechanism of a scientific conclusion. The content of the "integral image of society" largely determines the ideals and norms of sociological research, the standards of understanding and interpretation above all. The very fact of the formulation of the problem--the interpretation of a specific fragment of social reality--proves that the latter, taken outside its theoretical context, is meaningless. This fully applies to the social indicator as well, which records an empirical given external in terms of the "social image." Actually, taken outside the universal explanatory system, it proves to be illusory.

In speaking of the active and creative nature of reflection, which determines the normative-cultural determinants of social knowledge, we cannot fail to point out that in formulating the conclusion of the need to use "nonapparent" knowledge in sociological research, Batygin exaggerates the constructive-heuristic role of natural linguistic means of expression. The latter, in my view, is a lower form of intellectual activity, perhaps for the fact alone that the full content of an idea formulated in a natural language cannot be understood in terms of universally meaningful terminology: subtextual elements will not be included in the perception of meaning and some essential images and symbols will be lost.

In analyzing the context of a scientific conclusion, it is important to emphasize the need for the intensified study of the sociocultural foundations of sociological activities. It is insufficient in this case merely to point out the essential nature of a cultural background. The problem lies in breaking down the invariant content of universal culture, which cannot be clearly interpreted on the level of the ordinary experience of the research (to which Batygin appeals). Nevertheless, in research they play the role of a "filter," which ensures the substantiation of a scientific conclusion.

A. N. Sukhov, Moscow: "What Is Being Interpreted?"

I read with a great deal of interest G. S. Batygin's article "Substantiation of Interpretation Systems" (No 2, 1984). The article contains a number of accurate critical views on contemporary trends in sociological science. In its constructive part, however, the article triggers a number of objections.

The task which the author set to himself is to substantiate sociological interpretation systems, by which he means the "framework of interpretation models traditional to sociological language" (p 24). If we bear in mind that

interpretation means the "differencia specifica" of a scientific conclusion in all of its manifestations (p 23) and that "it is precisely the interpretation which is the element of heuristic action which links theory with empiricism" (p 22), there would be hardly any doubt that the substantiation of sociological interpretation systems should be theoretical-methodological. This is also clearly indicated by the section in which the article was included. Nevertheless, Batygin does not provide a theoretical-methodological but a psychological substantiation of interpretation systems.

Let us try to prove this. Having established that sociological interpretation systems include a set of formalized, nonformalized and rhetorical-cognitive means (p 29), Batygin turns to the specific content of sociological interpretation. "What is being interpreted?" is the question the author asks and answers as follows: "...not events or facts are interpreted. They are merely the sensory-specific data on which abstract-idealistic structures of operational definitions are 'placed.' The ideal-concrete meaning becomes the direct object of interpretation: scale divisions, statements, points, numerical sequences, etc. Unlike a fact or an event, all of this could be described with a single word: data" (p 31). At this point we should give the author's consistency its due: having qualified the objective social reality we perceive in events and facts as "sensory-specific data," while "ideal-specific meanings" are claimed to be the only "data" accessible to use, he raises the question of the disappearance of the real social fact from the sight of the researcher (pp 29, 31).

Actually, if the question of the specific content of a sociological interpretation is considered in the spirit of the traditions of sensualism and empiricism, while the question of the form of sociological thinking is interpreted in the spirit of the constructivism of neo-Kantian-phenomenological tradition, the disappearance of the real social fact from the sight of the researcher becomes an insoluble problem. An interpretation may become self-seeking, locked within itself, turning into a relativistic hermeneutical "game of beads."

In an effort to avoid relativism, Batygin turns to the psychology of knowledge, providing a definitive and most expanded definition of interpretation. "Most generally," he writes, "interpretation could be considered in terms of the theory of recognition, for it is a question of a chain of images of a certain set of "stimuli" (elements of perception) in sensations, images, concepts and ideas.... The main thing here is a vision of social problems, i.e., the interpretation of observed variables as "symptoms" of one situation or another, requiring practical intervention" (p 32). Let us add that the pragmatic model of reality, on which contemporary cognitive psychology is based, not only does not exclude but, conversely, necessarily requires the universal application of formal-mechanical or technological means of interaction with the surrounding world.

However, if it implicitly contains a substantial dose of methodological pragmatism, psychologism in the interpretation of sociological thinking does not rescue us in the least from relativism in substantiating a sociological interpretation. Every sociologist has his own unique "daily experience," consistent with a "vision of social problems and, consequently, the existence of his

own unique system of interpretations. The main methodological error of the author is that in his substantiation of interpretation activities by the sociologist he proceeds from an abstracted gnosiological subject, meaning the individual. The image of the sociologist, as drawn by Batygin, appears, on the one hand, excessively grand (as though the sociologist is the creator of the facts of social reality); on the other hand, it is excessively pitiful (the professional sociologist is merely the bearer of the ordinary mind with its set of stimuli and reactions). The center of the theoretical-methodological substantiation of sociological interpretation systems should be focused not on the individual, as the bearer of an awareness reflecting social reality, but society. It is precisely society as an integral formation that is the subject of social knowledge and guarantees the "tangible nature" of the sociological interpretation by the individual, including the sociologist. If the subject of social knowledge is the individual and if individuality means nothing but a source of creative development of knowledge, concepts such as "social reality," "historical law," or "objective truth" would prove to be merely terms without object reference. Clearly, the author should give this some thought.

A. F. Gurdzhi, Moscow: "Trust But Check"

Dear editors! My professional interests are closely related to computer processing of sociological research data. That is why I regularly read the journal's works on this topic. Let me point out that there is a clear shortage of articles on problems of interest to me in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA. However, it is not merely a question of quantity. It is a question, above all, of the fact that articles on the theory and method of data processing should discuss new and unresolved problems of practical importance to the development of applied sociology. Unfortunately, the editors are clearly not paying serious attention to this research trend. I believe that many sociologists who specialize in mathematical methods would agree with this. I am addressing myself to the editors partially because I do not see clear indications of any improvements in this matter. One should not look far for examples. The journal's issue No 2 for 1984 published the article by V. G. Britvin, V. F. Sklyarov and I. K. Tereshkin, "Sociological Data in Enterprise Automated Control Systems: Methods of Storing and Processing," which I consider to be quite debatable.

Previously published articles by V. G. Britvin and V. F. Sklyarov (Nos 2 and 4, 1979; No 2, 1981) contained programs for the study of sociological data and were quite interesting and useful. To the best of my knowledge, they were used by a number of applied sociologists. Although the programs themselves could not be considered masterpieces, their publication in a sociological journal was quite timely which, unfortunately, cannot be said for the article published in issue No 2 for 1984. This article contains a number of technical inaccuracies and the views it expresses are unconvincing.

Let us consider above all technical carelessness. On p 140 the authors introduce the matrix $/a_{ij}/$, in which the choices noted by the respondents are recorded in the lines and the "number of respondents" (?) is noted vertically. Subsequent discussions make the term "number of respondents" clear. However,

the suggested definition of the key concept--the data matrix--cannot be considered adequate. We read on that same page that "CEILY is the upper integral number Y." This too is entirely understandable. However, the use of such unprofessional "slang" in a respectable scientific journal seems inadmissible to me. In computing with formula (5) the volume of memory m_i , held by the i question we obtain, for the incompatible question ($t_i = 1$) with two choices ($i_i = 2$): $m_i = \text{CEIL} \log_2 (L_i - 1) = \text{CEIL} \log_2 1 = 0$.

This means that this question does not involve the memory of the machine at all. To say the least, this is puzzling!

In the table on page 143 a column showing the values of parameter "C" may be found. However, its meaning can only be guessed at, for in the article itself the variable "C" is not used.

The list of such carelessnesses and errors could be extended. However, even this suffices considering the relatively short size of the article. Obviously, the editors bear certain responsibility as well, for scientific articles must be edited by specialists.

Now as to the method for compressing information as suggested in the article. The use of decimal equivalent elements of the Boolean matrix is expedient when such elements are fed to the computer memory in figures or symbols.

Since any figure in the computer consists of 16 or 32 bits, whereas a symbol takes 8 bits, the compression of initial data is possible. However, contemporary programming languages, such as PL-1 or Assembler, enable us to use considerably more efficient forms of memory breakdown with binary elements--the so-called "bit lines." In the use of "bit lines" initial information to be stored can be compressed by a factor of 8 compared to symbols and by a factor of 16 compared with integral numbers. This indicators substantially exceeds the results obtained by the authors of the article as shown in the table on page 143. An equally essential fact is that in this case there is no need whatsoever to solve complex equations in determining the optimal value of M^{dec} . Information compression by a factor of 8 (16) is always guaranteed. In the example given in the article, the indicator $Q^A = 250$. Let us recall that the lowest value for Q^A obtained by the authors was 340.

The same applies to the method of interdocumentary data packing. It will suffice entirely to invert the Boolean matrix and use the "bit lines" for storing. The nature of the combined method for data concentration, which enables us simultaneously to compress data by line and column remains totally unclear from the article, for which reason the value of the information provided by the authors to the effect that "in this case the condensation coefficient could attain significant values" is rather insignificant.

In conclusion, let us express a few remarks on the very problem of compressing sociological data. Despite the externally obvious usefulness of such compression, its economic effectiveness is doubtful. The authors point out that "it is expedient to compress if data are to be filed for a long period of time" (p 142). Under the conditions of a plant sociological laboratory (the article

is addressed precisely to plant sociologists), more than 10 surveys annually are rare. Usually, no more than 500 people are surveyed on the basis of forms containing between 500 and 600 choices. In other words, in the use of even extremely nonoptimal binary information in round figures, the volume of information acquired in 1 year does not exceed 5 megabytes (it is substantially lower in practice). Bearing in mind that a standard reel of tape could record as many as 25 megabytes of data, one could easily see that it would cover 5 years of information. The cost of such a reel is 80 rubles.

On the other hand, since V. G. Britvin, V. F. Sklyarov and I. K. Tereshkin do not provide the texts of programs to be used in the method they suggest, and not even block charts for such a program may be found, plant sociologists should sign a contract with the respective subdivisions for the formulation of programs. In my view, programming and adjusting the program would require no less than 3 man/months of machine time, which would amount to a total of 600-700 rubles according to the most conservative estimate. We believe that these computations would enable plant sociologists to determine the extent to which they need such programs. Another "idea," which must be mentioned, although it is not directly related to computers, may be found in the article. On page 140 the authors call for identifying the personnel who filled the forms in the course of processing the survey data and cards with the help of personnel files. All of this is quite possible. However, have the authors considered the ethical side of this approach? As a rule, respondents in sociological surveys are guaranteed anonymity or confidentiality. In applying the suggested procedure, information which a respondent may not want to publicize would become entirely accessible to interested individuals. It seems to me that this creates the danger of abusing the trust of the people in the researcher.

All of this leads one to believe that the views formulated by the authors must be concretized and substantiated more profoundly. In our view, subsequent journal publications on problems of program and mathematical support in sociological data processing should be raised to the instrumental-practical level.

V. A. Mashukhova, engineer-sociologist, Baku: "'Like Real Knights'"

I read with a great deal of interest the article by V. A. Razumany: "Aesthetic Education: Interaction Between General Education Schools and Cultural Institutions"; and that by V. S. Ovchinskiy: "Preventing Antisocial Behavior Among Minors." Both raise very important social problems and, resolving the first and having organized the aesthetic upbringing of young people, we come closer to resolving the second.

I would like to share my experience in working with children in School No 162 in our city. G. N. Lapteva, music and singing teacher, organized a large choir and 3 times weekly the students attend music classes after their regular classes with pleasure. With the help of the parent committee, the school set up a ballroom dancing studio also attended by 50 children who are showing a great deal of interest. We, parents, find it particularly pleasant to note that the studio teaches not only dancing but rules of behavior as well. The children behave like true knights...."

The result of all this work is obvious. The school no longer needs to draw up lists of so-called problem children.

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DISCUSSION OF BASIC TRENDS IN USSR AN ISI ACTIVITIES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 84
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[Text] The USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium considered the topic "On Basic Trends in the Activities and Tasks of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research." A report was submitted by Dr of Philosophical Sciences Prof V. N. Ivanov, USSR AN ISI [Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research director; a co-report was submitted by USSR AN Corresponding Member G. L. Smirnov. Participants in the discussion included Ye. P. Velikhov, USSR AN vice president, G. K. Skryabin, USSR AN Presidium chief scientific secretary, A. G. Yegorov, USSR AN Department of Philosophy and Law academic secretary, I. I. Lukinov, Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences vice president, Dr of Juridical Sciences A. M. Vasil'yev, USSR AN Institute of State and Law deputy director, and others.

The USSR AN Presidium decree notes that since it was founded (1968) the USSR AN ISI has conducted a number of studies on the dynamics of the socioclass structure of Soviet society, the socialist way of life, the status of public opinion, sociodemographic problems, social forecasting and planning and propaganda. A certain amount of work has been done in the areas of sociological theory, methodology and history, methodical, mathematical and information support of sociological research, study of social indicators and analysis of contemporary bourgeois sociological thinking.

However, a significant percentage of studies have been inconsistent with contemporary requirements in terms of scale and data quality and has prevented drawing thorough summations and developing constructive practical recommendations. The institute's collective was unsuccessful in obtaining reliable data characterizing the progress of Soviet society toward social homogeneity, the social consequences of the scientific revolution and the methods for combining the advantages of the socialist system with the achievements of scientific and technical progress. Little attention was paid to the study of nonclass, socioterritorial and national differences in the development of the social structure. The study of public opinion was conducted insufficiently purposefully. Frequently, studies suffered from duplication and were conducted on the basis of noncomparable methods. The development of a system of social indicators and the necessary theoretical and methodical recommendations in planning, forecasting and managing social processes has remained incomplete. ISI works on problems of the socialist way of life did not pay the necessary

attention to the study of the reasons for negative social phenomena and the means to eliminate them. Studies in family sociology do not always take into consideration the aspects of the condition and development of marital-family relations in different areas and population groups. Fundamental theoretical and methodical problems, such as the structure of sociological science, and interaction between sociology and historical materialism and scientific communism, have remained essentially unresolved. A gap has developed between empirical data acquired in the course of specific sociological studies and their theoretical interpretation and summation. Data processing is excessively slow.

The critical analysis of the latest concepts in bourgeois sociology was fragmentary. Studies in this area are insufficiently oriented toward resolving practical problems of ideological work.

There have been major shortcomings in the style and methods of organization of scientific activities and the work of the administration, the ISI Scientific Council and the postgraduate studies system in training scientific cadres and upgrading their skills. Coordination in sociological research is frequently formal and the assistance provided to plant sociologists cannot be considered efficient. Little methodological literature is being published.

So far, the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA has insufficiently reflected the results of studies conducted by the institute. It organizes scientific discussions infrequently and does not always accurately evaluate new books on sociology. In accordance with the tasks stemming from the materials of the June 1983 Central Committee Plenum, at which the institute's activities were criticized, the USSR AN Presidium decreed that the ISI should consider as its main task the comprehensive study of the condition and trends of development of the social area of the mature socialist society. It must upgrade the quality of research and formulate scientifically substantiated forecasts and recommendations on improving social relations and social planning and management.

The USSR AN Presidium approved as being of key importance the following trends of scientific research institute activities: 1) study of social conditions and factors of acceleration of scientific and technical progress and material and moral incentives for the fastest possible utilization of scientific and technical achievements and, on this basis, upgrading labor productivity and public production efficiency; 2) study of changes and development trends in the social structure of Soviet society, defining specific indicators and means for rapprochement among classes, social groups and strata, and features and forms of manifestation of social differentiation under the conditions of the establishment of a classless social structure; 3) formulating ways to improve the socialist way of life, to encourage labor and sociopolitical activeness among all sociodemographic groups, to enhance well-being on the basis of the socialist principles of social justice, to upgrade the efficiency of the communist upbringing and education of young people and to surmount negative social phenomena; 4) to engage in systematic studies of public opinion, to develop practical recommendations on improving the activities of mass information and propaganda media and to take more fully into consideration information requirements and interests of the various population groups; 5) to

study and define means of optimizing the sociodemographic situation in the country and its different areas and to formulate recommendations for strengthening and developing the family and considering the social aspects of health care and physical culture of the population; 6) to formulate theoretical, methodological and methodical problems of sociological research and intensified studies of the history of Marxist sociology in the USSR and the other socialist countries; to criticize contemporary bourgeois sociological concepts.

The range of primary sociological studies was formulated within the framework of these trends.

The institute's management was asked to continue to improve organizational forms for rallying and concentrating the efforts of scientists on the implementation of major research projects, preparing general-institute theoretical projects, enhancing the role of the Scientific Council in the organization of research and adopting an exigent approach to cadre selection. Work with post-graduate students and candidates for scientific degrees should be improved as well and the activities of specialized councils should be energized.

In connection with the introduction of higher sociological training in the country, the institute was instructed to participate in drafting textbooks and training aids. Convening an all-union conference of sociologists was deemed expedient in order to improve research coordination.

It was recommended to the institute to pay constant attention to summing up the experience of planned sociological services and to perfect methodical and information assistance given to plant sociologists. In particular, the institute was given the functions of center for the training of cadres of plant sociologists for Moscow and Moscow Oblast. The ISI was instructed to hold on a regular basis practical sciences with interested departments and establishments and seminars for sociologists working in the various production, culture and mass information sectors.

The role of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA must be increased in covering topical theoretical and methodological problems of sociology, organizing scientific discussions and upgrading the scientific-theoretical standards and efficiency of sociological research, as well as establishing close ties with scientific establishments, VUZs and plant sociologists. The journal's editors were instructed to improve their critical-bibliographic work.

Steps were earmarked to help the institute in strengthening its material and technical base.

Academician P. N. Fedoseyev, USSR Academy of Sciences Vice President, delivered the concluding speech.

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AT THE SOVIET SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 84
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[Text] The question of upgrading the efficiency of the practical utilization of the results of sociological studies in party, state and economic work was discussed at the regular session of the Presidium of the Board of the Soviet Sociological Association. A report on the topic was submitted by V. N. Ivanov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research. Co-reports were submitted by I. I. Sigov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Socioeconomic Problems, and by I. M. Popova, head of the chair of philosophy, Odessa State University. Zh. T. Toshchenko, G. V. Osipov, S. N. Plotnikov, Yu. Ye. Volkov, O. I. Shkaratan, A. G. Kharchev, Yu. V. Arutyunyan and V. I. Chuprov, who participated in the debates, discussed in detail problems of theoretical and practical nature related to applying the results of sociological studies. In particular, attention was drawn to the need to formulate a document which would regulate the procedure for the application of recommendations. It was also pointed out that such recommendations are occasionally of an extremely general nature. They have been insufficiently thought out and are not consistent with practical requirements. The role of the SSA [Soviet Sociological Association] in upgrading the scientific standard of sociological works remains unnoticeable. Suggestions were expressed calling for drastically upgrading the propaganda of sociological knowledge, paying particular attention to management cadres. The presidium supported the initiative of the editors of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, which has carried for a number of years sections of obvious practical application, such as "Sociological Science and Practice of Ideological Work," "Experience in the Implementation of Sociological Recommendations," "In Aid to the Plant Sociologist," "Sociological Service" and "Social Planning."

The Presidium resolved to continue with the summation of the experience acquired in our country in putting to practical use in social management recommendations given by sociologists and, on this basis, to draft corresponding measures and to harness the republic and regional SSA departments in their implementation.

This was followed by a report submitted by the Bureau of the Central Scientific Research Young Sociologists' Section on its work in 1983. A report was submitted by Yu. I. Bokan', bureau chairman. The presidium also heard a report submitted Ye. S. Geller, responsible secretary of "SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE

YEZHEGODNIK" [Sociological Yearbook] on preparations for the publication of its first issue. V. S. Borovik, SSA chief scientific secretary, reported to the Presidium on the constituent meetings of the Armenian and Central-Chernozem SSA departments and on the exchange of individual association membership cards.

A report on work with plant sociologists was submitted by L. N. Kogan, chairman of the Ural Department, at the June session of the Presidium of the SSA board. He pointed out that the department pays great attention to coordinating the activities of plant sociologists and upgrading their skills. He also pointed out the circumstances which hold back sociological work in the area. In particular, no more than 120 Ural enterprises have sociological services. The overwhelming majority of them are small and have not emphasized their presence sufficiently. Furthermore, the methodical publication currently available to the departments cannot give any real assistance to plant sociologists. The speaker suggested that a practical science conference on problems of activities of sociological services in industrial enterprises be held. The report was discussed by Zh. T. Toshchenko, SSA vice president, V. Ya. Bystritskiy, head of the sociological service at the Uralmash plant, Yu. M. Aleksandrovich, Chelyabinsk CPSU gorkom secretary, O. I. Skharatan and N. I. Lapin, SSA vice president.

A report was submitted by the chairman of the Volgo-Vyatsk SSA department on its 1983 work. V. S. Borovik, SSA chief scientific secretary, Ye. F. Molevich and N. G. Valentinova, chairman of the Central Auditing Commission of the Association, participated in the discussions on the report.

The Presidium discussed a communication submitted by the SSA Central Scientific Research Section on sociology in developing countries. Its work was described by V. M. Kirko, scientific secretary. He pointed out that the main task of the section is the application of sociological methods in oriental studies. The section held two symposiums on "Level and Quality of Life in Developing Countries." A book is being prepared based on the results of the discussion. The collection "Voprosy Sotsiologii v Sovetskoy Afrikanistike" [Problems of Sociology in Soviet African Studies] was published. Within the plan of preparations for the 11th World Sociological Congress, V. M. Kirko suggested that the book "Sotsiologiya Razvitiya Afriki" [African Development Sociology] be translated into English and French.

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INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 84
(signed to press 25 Oct 84) p 180

[Report by A. N. Vlasova]

[Text] In the 4 years since it was established, the International Sociological School has made an important contribution to upgrading the professional skills of sociologists in the socialist countries and to intensifying international cooperation. The next session of the MSSh [International Sociological School] will take place in Moscow from 2-9 June 1985. Its work plan was discussed at a session of the school's scientific council in Suzdal in 1984, with the participation of representatives from Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

The participants approved the topic of the future session: "Social Factors and Mechanism of Economic Development of Socialist Society," and heard a draft of the main report, submitted by Prof V. N. Ivanov, doctor of philosophical sciences, chairman of the school's scientific council and director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research.

Also discussed at the meeting were problems related to the preparations for the 11th World Sociological Congress. Participants in the discussion included N. Yakhiel, Bulgarian People's Republic Academy of Sciences corresponding members, Prof F. Harvat (Czechoslovakia), Prof V. Dobriyanov (Bulgaria), Dr. A. Kretschmar (GDR), Prof V. Baukh (Czechoslovakia), Prof K. Doktor (Poland), Candidate of Philosophical Sciences N. Genov (Bulgaria) and Dr J. Farkas (Hungary).

V. Dobriyanov, principal of the International Sociological School, submitted a report on its activities. Within the short time of its existence, he said, three sessions and a conference were held. The following topics were discussed: "Theoretical and Empirical Knowledge in Sociology," "Sociological Knowledge and Social Practice Under Socialist Conditions," "Karl Marx's Sociological Legacy and Study of the Social Structure and Way of Life" and "Social Activities and Social Systems." Therefore, the speaker emphasized, a good beginning has been made. However, in order to consolidate the achievements, the school's work must be planned for several years ahead. Thus, it would be desirable as of now to define the problem areas to be discussed in the future.

Dobriyanov listed among the most important among them the problems of labor collectives and the use of sociological studies in the activities of party and state bodies. In addition to the regular school sessions, the speaker suggested the holding of conferences, seminars and symposiums for sociologists.

The motions submitted by the representatives of Cuba and Hungary on holding the next school sessions in Havana and Budapest were adopted.

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CHRONICLE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 84
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[Text] By decree of the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, a department of sociology was created at the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy in February of 1984. The main areas of study for the new scientific unit were formulated: ways of improving social relations and the social structure of developed socialism, reproduction of professional-skill employment structure, shaping labor orientations for the growing generation, sociological problems of perfecting the social management of production, development of labor collectives, communist upbringing of youth, methodology and method of sociological research, statistical analysis of social information and formulation of sociological forecasts. In accordance with these areas, the topics for research to be conducted by five departments and two problem groups were refined. The department was instructed to coordinate scientific research in sociology in the Ukrainian SSR and to provide scientific and technical support for sociological studies conducted in the republic. A wide range of measures relative to the organizational, cadre and material and technical support of the new academic subunit and its development into a separate institute in the 12th Five-Year Plan were contemplated. V. F. Chernovolenko was appointed head of the department and deputy director of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy.

Contributed by I. I. Fursin: "Topical Conceptual Problems of Counterpropaganda." This was the topic of a practical science conference held in Sevastopol, organized by the local department of the USSR Philosophical Society, with the participation of the Sevastopol CP of the Ukraine Gorkom, the Political Administration of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet, the Sevastopol Instrument-Making Institute and the Black Sea Naval Academy imeni P. S. Nakhimov. Associates of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research participated in the conference.

On 4 October 1984 the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium Social Science Section discussed the problem "On the Development of Scientific Research of Problem Youth" (in the light of the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Further Improving the Party's Leadership of the Komsomol and Upgrading Its Role in the Communist Education of Youth"). A report was submitted by A. V. Zhuganov, Komsomol Central Committee secretary. Academician B. A. Rybakov, I. T. Frolov and S. R. Mikulinskiy, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding members, G. G.

Kvasov, USSR Ministry of Education Collegium member, I. M. Il'inskiy, director of the Komsomol Central Committee Higher Komsomol School Scientific Research Center, V. N. Ivanov, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Scientific Research director, and A. I. Popov, RSFSR deputy minister of higher and secondary specialized education, participated in the discussions. The concluding speech was delivered by P. N. Fedoseyev, USSR Academy of Sciences vice president. The section passed a decree defining the specific tasks of academic scientific institutions in the study of youth problems and the practical implementation of CPSU Central Committee instructions on this matter.

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INTERCONNECTION BETWEEN SOCIOLOGICAL AND CRIMINOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO
CRIMINALITY STUDIES

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[Review by G. M. Min'kovskiy of the book "Genetika, Povedeniye, Otvetstvennost'" [Genetics, Behavior, Responsibility] by N. P. Dubinin, I. I. Karpets and V. N. Kudryavtsev (3). Genrikh Mikhaylovich Min'kovskiy is doctor of juridical sciences and chief of the chair of criminal policy and criminal law, USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Academy. Author of several monographs, including "Preduprezhdeniye Prestupnosti" [Crime Prevention] (1962); "Lichnost' Prestupnika" [The Criminal Personality] (1975); and "Problemy Okhrany Pravoporyadka i Bor'by s Prestupnost'yu [Problems of Preserving Law and Order and the Struggle Against Criminality] (1984). He is the author of the articles "Problem of Preventing Delinquency Under the Conditions of a Large City" [No 1, 1979) and "Troubled Family and Delinquent Youth Behavior" (No 2, 1982)]

[Text] The fast development of criminological research over the past 20 years and the accumulation of significant factual data have led to the appearance of a number of theoretical-methodological and applied problems, particularly those dealing with the correlation between sociology and criminology. The recently published book under review provides good food for thought (naturally, laying no claim to providing an exhaustive evaluation or completeness). The monograph reflects quite fully the contemporary condition of Soviet criminology and earmarks ways for its development and interaction with the other social sciences. Incidentally, the comprehensive consideration of said problems was greatly helped by the fact that the authors are specialists doing fruitful work in a variety of areas, such as sociology, law, criminology, genetics and biology.

One way or another, problems which are either controversial and unresolved in criminology, lead essentially to the question of the ratio between subjective and objective factors which affect criminality and the extent to which the latter combines within itself residual and vestigial phenomena in the full meaning of the term, triggered by contemporary socioeconomic and spiritual processes. From the theoretical and methodological viewpoint, this presumes the consideration of the following topics: 1) content of the concept of "criminological scientific knowledge" and its place within the system of social sciences, and the subject and object of criminology; 2) the research

method; 3) criminological characteristics of the condition and trends of criminality and the role of corresponding developments in substantiating the policy of the struggle against crime; 4) contemporary theory of the mechanism of specific crimes and the criminal personality; 5) the criminological concept of the struggle against crime.²

The main among the first group of problems is "a problem quite remote from the desired clarity of what is criminology: is it a legal science or one of the sociological (sociology of crime) sciences?" (4, p 193). Thus, the view is quite popular that if we define the subject of this discipline in terms of criminal-legal concepts, it would mean to identify criminology with the sociology of criminal law. However, the area of the study includes all antisocial phenomena or even all forms of deviant behavior (Ye. Baffiya, Ya. I. Gilinskiy et al.). We believe that Dubinin, Karpets and Kudryavtsev hold the only accurate position in this respect: criminology neither has nor could have "its own" interpretation of the concept of "crime" and "criminal," and the substitution of loose definitions for criminal-legal definitions is inadmissible. Criminal law alone can make a distinction between criminal and non-criminal behavior. Among others, this view prevents a confusion between socially dangerous actions caused by mental disturbances and crime in the strict meaning of the term. In this connection, the authors draw with perfect justification our attention to the question of the ethical aspects of criminological problems. The refusal of criminologists to use clear criminal-legal definitions may lead in practice to undermining legality and, in particular, to the restoration of the concept of a "state of danger" (3, pp 91-92).

Prevention is the leading trend in the struggle against crime. However, this view should not be interpreted dogmatically. If a crime has been committed, ensuring the inevitability of punishment becomes the main factor. This too "works" in favor of prevention, by restraining unstable social elements, while the individual who has committed the crime is prevented from the commission of new socially dangerous actions. Therefore, criminal-legal measures are combined with the system of the struggle against crime, which could be described as a program for crime prevention in the broad meaning of the term (5).

As to "subordinating" criminology to the definitions of criminal law, this does not reduce it in the least to the sociology of criminal law. It is rather a question of criminology as sociology of the policy of the struggle against crime. The discipline, on the one hand, provides a general concept of such activities, including a characterization of the role of the criminal law subsystem; on the other, it provides a detailed prevention program. Specifically, the definition of criminal law measures is within the competence of criminal law theory. The sociological study of the efficiency of criminal law norms and the practice of their application is the necessary element of the latter.

The systematic implementation of this viewpoint leads to the conclusion of the inadmissibility of including all types of antisocial behavior within the subject of criminology. As it is, it is quite extensive. Phenomena such as drunkenness, social parasitism and others should be of interest to criminologists only to the extent to which they may be a background, a nutritive

medium, and an influence on the mechanism of criminal behavior.³ Naturally, in this case the study is not reduced to the question of preventing the influence of such negative phenomena on crime. This requires a concept of the struggle against socially pathological forms of behavior broader compared to the criminological concept. If in their discussion of such problems the workers in this discipline would like to "exceed" the framework of criminogenic factors, this is the result not of success but of insufficient development of sociological approaches. The view of the need to develop a concept for the struggle against sociopathological phenomena is not the equivalent of the idea of some authors of the possibility of creating a general theory of deviant behavior, preceded by "plus" and "minus" signs. In our society, the mechanism of such actions is qualitatively different. In the first case, it is a question of shaping the future in terms of the present, and of the future norm of standard behavior. In the second, it is a question of a social relic. Other than noting the existence of a purely formal similarity, such a study would hardly contribute anything.

To sum it up: criminological knowledge operates at the point where sociological and legal theory intersect.

In a certain sense, this "double" subordination of criminology intensifies heuristic possibilities. However, it also conceals the threat of going beyond the range of its competence. The characteristics of the origins of criminal behavior in socialist society are an objective foundation for such attempts. It is a question, above all, of the lack of specific "personal" patterns which trigger crime. Let us illustrate the results of the aspiration infinitely to widen the boundaries of criminological research with the following example: studies have determined that the percentage of unskilled and underskilled individuals among criminals is high. On the basis of this fact, a number of authors have substantiated the concept that dissatisfaction with working conditions creates social dissatisfaction which, in turn, creates a tendency to commit antisocial actions (6). Therefore, the dissemination of the latter is directly based on the nature of the job.⁵ In this case, the fact is ignored that a significant percentage of delinquents were satisfied with their jobs. Also ignored is the possibility of developing antisocial motivations before joining the specific enterprise or else under the influence of other factors (such as the family microenvironment). Naturally, labor sociology data should be used in the study of this problem. However, it should be interpreted from the viewpoint of the subject of criminology. Any uncritical borrowing of external approaches may lead to replacing the meaningful study of the breakdown of formal relations and a "gap" in interpreting mediating sociopsychological aspects.

In our view, the authors of the monograph express a promising viewpoint also on the question of the interaction between criminology and the other sciences. The range of competence of criminology, strictly speaking, is the study of criminality and its mechanism and the efficiency of the specific measures in the struggle against it. In interdisciplinary studies (criminological-sociological, criminological-psychological, criminological-genetic, etc.) the representatives of this discipline formulate tasks based on the problem of the struggle against crime. The data of related areas of knowledge, dealing with

processes in the areas of labor, management and the population's mental and physical health, are used in criminology for comparisons with features of criminality and other delinquent behavior. This procedure is an important factor in the search for cause-and-effect relations.

This shapes criminology as a legal science in terms of basic concepts, sociological-legal in terms of subject and sociological in terms of research tasks and methods. It studies the laws governing the development of criminality as a specific type of social behavior and the trends of the struggle against it, including prevention and blocking.

This is also determined by the specific requirements concerning the methods used by criminologists. The picture in this case is quite variegated. Whereas Dubinin, Karpets and Kudryavtsev consistently promote in their book the comprehensive approach (statistical data are compared with verbal information and results of document studies), in many other works the main attention is concentrated on a single source. Also widespread are shortcomings (to a certain extent also found in this monograph), such as the lack of a control group in the study, combining criminals and other delinquents within a single group and excessive averaging of typological characteristics. For example, criminologists frequently speak of workers and employees in general and of crime trends as a whole. However, the qualitative distinctions among the origins of delinquencies are obvious, such as the difference between murdering someone and a crime involving a vehicle. Is it not time for the criminologists to shift the center of gravity to drawing more "detailed" social portraits? Sociologists have acquired adequate experience in taking into consideration sociodemographic, professional, cultural and other parameters.

The quality of the methods used in gathering verbal information should be improved. To this day, wide use is made in studies of blunt and excessively general questions addressed to delinquents and criminals (such as "Do you like to read?", "Do you watch television?"). To begin with, the significance of such information is small in analyzing the criminogenic mechanism (what is important is the type of works that the person reads or television programs he prefers). Secondly, all too frequently specialists trust the answers to such questions. They ignore the fact that self-protection and the desire to improve one's lot will make the respondent make himself agreeable to the interviewer and present himself in the best possible light. For example, according to one such study, what the sentenced criminals like best is to read and their favorite writers are Pushkin and N. Ostrovskiy. In that case, the respondents relied on the curriculums of the grades they had completed. A simple check of library cards yielded an entirely different picture.

Unquestionably, sociological methods must be used more extensively in criminological research. However, the respective methods should be adapted to the objectives and tasks of the discipline. This approach enables us to outline the framework within which individual-psychological methods could be applied. Any excessive enthusiasm for such methods would result in the fact that the individual psychological features of the person (slackness, rigidity, etc.) begin to be considered as the main regulators of criminal behavior.

One of the main topics in criminological studies is the condition and trends of criminality and reasons for changes within it. The work under review expresses interesting and daring views on the matter. The authors not only convincingly prove the declining nature of criminality in our society but also make a rather daring forecast of corresponding trends (3, p 61). They justifiably focus their attention on so-called latent criminality: manifestations of criminality which remain unknown to the competent authorities or else, although known, have not resulted in any legal reaction. This problem is of great social importance. It is a question not only of cases of avoiding the recording of a crime and taking the necessary subsequent measures (2). A considerable percentage of antisocial actions, considered "not dangerous" from the viewpoint of some people, are not recorded as a result of the fact that the victims, witnesses or organizations do not report such events which contain the characteristics of a crime. Consequently, purposeful work is necessary to develop the population's legal awareness and knowledge.

The authors touch upon another interesting and relatively new topic: the "core" of criminality (3, p 119, 152, 223).⁵ Within the system of the various forms of delinquent behavior, the latter should be considered its center. Indeed, experience has indicated, for example, that drunkenness frequently contributes to the commission of a crime. In turn, this entails the next "round" of drunkenness, in which the delinquent involves people from his immediate surroundings, leading them to further crimes. Therefore, we must make a study not only of the mechanism of the influence of "background" phenomena but also crime feedback. This idea is quite consistent with the conclusion reached by many scientists on the decisive role which sociopsychological processes play in the origin of a specific criminal behavior. It is precisely these processes which stand between, and transform the influence of economic, demographic and other factors on crime trends. In this connection, one can only support the appeal made by many specialists (N. F. Kuznetsova and others) to study group views, traditions, customs, etc., from the viewpoint of the penetration of crime-originating aspects within them.

We believe that these concepts and studies support the concepts formulated in its time by the USSR Prosecutor's General All-Union Institute for the Study of Reasons and Formulate Measures for Crime Prevention. Its essence is as follows: the criminality level and trends become increasingly "sensitive" to the intensiveness of the struggle against them. In accordance with this conclusion, the law enforcement bodies follow the line of maximal utilization of special measures of influence in order to limit the "dimensions" of crime to the maximum. This should drastically upgrade the anticriminogenic role of general social processes and lay a solid foundation for a qualitatively new stage in the struggle against antisocial phenomena.

For example, the studies have established that a significant percentage of crime has shifted to the consumption area. However, the scientists did not identify promptly or assess suitably some adverse trends. It is a question, above all, of recurring "neoprofessionalism" in general criminal and economic delinquency. All such new phenomena have been taken into consideration in the amendments to the criminal legislation, made between 1982 and 1984. The reform calls for a greater differentiation among criminal-legal measures depending on the social significance of the crime.

The further development of criminological theory and the enhancement of its practical potential are greatly determined by the extent to which the reasons for "perturbations" and "breaks" in criminality are identified. Dubinin, Karpets and Kudryavtsev consider in detail the methodological and methodical prerequisites for such a study. This proves, once again, the timeliness and importance of this book.

Unquestionably, one of the main trends in contemporary criminology is the study of the mechanisms of a specific criminal behavior and the personality of the subject. In the final account, the effectiveness of preventive measures and punishments depends on the accuracy of our concepts of what leads people to commit crimes. The authors substantiate the following concepts: 1) usually, a crime "ripens" relatively slowly and, consequently, could be detected and stopped (according to expert evaluations, in six to eight out of 10 cases); 2) the specific nature of criminal behavior is determined not by the existence of any particular psychological or physiological mechanisms but anomalies in the system of daily relations and activities; 3) most criminal actions are based on deformed value orientations, needs and interests of the individual.

Some specialists have opposed this concept, which is shared by the overwhelming majority of contemporary criminologists. Thus, I. B. Mikhaylovskaya considers that references to the "distortion of needs" and shifting the center of gravity to the individual is the equivalent of refusing to take steps of a general preventive nature. However, criminological theory considers a deformation of value orientations, interests, etc., as socially determined. Consequently, individual preventive work and the correcting influence on an individual do not conflict with social prevention but interact with it. The authors of this book have convincingly proved the significance and the limit of legal education in preventing antisocial phenomena. The latter could be considered an element in shaping a system of shaping basic personality values resting on the identification of the moral meaning and social expediency of legal principles and requirements, for the role of information on punishment as a factor in ensuring law observance is quite small (according to some data it is significant for no more than 5-8 percent of the population).

The book under review is a substantial contribution to the question of what motivates antisocial behavior. In particular, the authors debunk the legend of the so-called unmotivated crimes such as, for example, particularly cruel acts of violence for no apparent reason (3, pp 191-195 and others). In reality, the criminal--to the extent to which it is a question of a person of sound mind--always knows, in the final account, what he wants. A seemingly unmotivated action is actually the result of the degradation of the individual, in which, influenced by failures, conflicts, negative stereotypes in the micro-environment, etc., he develops the need to assert himself in a distorted manner by instilling fear in and harming those around him. In such cases, crimes become self-seeking.

The authors further develop the theory of the criminal situation as well. This applies to a set of external factors which influence the making and implementation of a decision to commit a crime. In recent years, researchers

have paid increasing attention in this connection to the marginal environment of drunks, troublemakers, individuals engaged in a parasitical way of life, etc. (this could be limited to the family in which all members have a similar orientation or else the living microenvironment and even a territorial community). In this case the criminal behavior is not reproduced by a conflicting situation, for such formations are homogeneous, but under the influence of intragroup antisocial norms and the stereotypes created by a significant percentage of such actions (such as an accidental quarrel) taking place in a marginal environment, remain latent, but, in the final account, reappearing and "generating" crime. In discussing this problems, the authors study in detail the mechanism of shaping the criminal behavior of several generations of a single family, singling out three basic factors: preservation of negative traditions in cases of adverse social circumstances of family life, marginal influence of relatives and influence of a criminal environment (3, pp 160-164). Although this diagram should be assessed positively, we should emphasize that the time has come to consider the "self-reproduction" of criminality in a broader context than has been used so far. It is no longer sufficient to reduce a criminogenic environment to isolated microgroups. It is a sum total of elements which are essentially declassed.

One of the basic problems of criminology, which greatly determines the nature and trends of prophylactic measures is the link between the mechanism of a specific criminal behavior and inherited (hereditary) character features. Of late this question has become the topic of a sharp debate (8). The substantiated and calm analysis of this topic by the authors (unlike their opponents, who are obviously abusing labels) has shed some light on the matter. To begin with, the authors define the initial concepts and the object of the study--hereditary individual features. The significance of this term is narrower than the concept of "genetically determined features," "biological factors," "biopsychological factors" or "mental disturbances," which are frequently used as synonymous in the exchange of views. Secondly, the work convincingly proves that a specialized genetic program ensures readiness for the development of social features without determining their content; genetic and other biological features of the individual may contribute or hinder the choice of a mode of behavior. However, in the case of people of sound mind, it is determined by the social stance of the person. Naturally, biological "features" including a genetic burden or disease, should be considered in the education, correction or social adaptation of the individual. Neglect of this circumstance could act as a criminogenic factor. As a whole, criminal tendencies obey "entirely different laws compared to those inherent in population genetics" (3, p 111). Therefore, the study of the specific interaction between biological and social factors in behavioral control and defining the position of each of the named elements will unquestionably provide an impetus for the further development of the "personality" approach in criminology and the principles of moral and legal assessment in preventing criminal behavior.

One way or another, these topics lead to the theory of crime prevention. The criminological definition of this concept proved to be a difficult matter. The point is that, essentially, all large-scale social processes in Soviet society carry a tremendous anticriminogenic charge and, in the final account, promote the restriction and elimination of reasons and conditions for crime

from our life. The temptation unwittingly arises to include in the meaning of said term the so-called general social warning. However, such an approach contains a serious danger. In such a case criminologists would not only exceed the limits of their subject by invading the realm of sociology and economics but also somehow by turning the problem upside down. The question of purposeful prevention becomes diluted in the topic of regulating basic socioeconomic processes. Yet crime prevention is a separate line of state policy and social activity, aimed at lowering the cost to society (in the final account, crime means loss of human, material and moral resources) and, therefore, facilitating and accelerating progress. Identifying the tasks of general social development with those of crime prevention essentially changes the positions held by the target and the means used to attain it (4, p 195).

In our view, the criminological concept of crime prevention and its respective theory are based on the feature of purposefulness. The system of criminological prevention includes measures especially aimed at resolving the problem. We believe that it is precisely this approach which will meet the practical needs of the struggle against crime in the immediate future. As we pointed out, under the conditions of a gradual narrowing of the range of criminogenic factors of an objective nature, criminality becomes more sensitive to purposeful steps in the struggle against it.

Naturally, the emphasis on purposeful measures does not mean that the object of criminological theory is limited to the work of law enforcement bodies. On the contrary, one of the leading concepts in the crime prevention system is that of the nonspecialized prevention worker who, as defined by Dubinin, Karpets and Kudryavtsev, acts "above all in the microenvironment, in the social cell in which the person develops as an individual" (3, p 265).

In this case, it is a question of the preventive activities carried out by the administration and the public of an enterprise, sports society, public education body, etc. The authors substantiate a number of promising practical steps to upgrade the efficiency of the interaction between law enforcement bodies and other prevention workers. In particular, they substantiate the concept of standardizing plans for crime prevention and socioeconomic development, the continuity of influence measures, the range of competence of each subsystem and the shifting of the center of gravity to individual preventive work (3, pp 264-268).

Quite timely, Dubinin, Karpets and Kudryavtsev speak out against the speculative exaggeration of the possibilities of so-called psychoprophylaxis, which includes the use of medicinal and treatment methods to prevent "child neuroses and delinquencies" (3, pp 273-275). As we know, in 1980 LITERATURNAYA GAZETA offered its space to irresponsible publications on this topic. The authors expose the inadmissibility of using psychotropic substances on minors. The help of psychologists and psychiatrists is important but auxiliary, supporting rather than replacing educational and legal influences.

The authors should be supported on another matter as well. They boldly go "against the current," by firmly rejecting the lisping tone popular in publications (scientific and, particularly, publicistic), or the opinion that

individuals who have committed a crime and served their punishment should be "pitied," "defended," "not traumatized," etc. Unquestionably, conditions for involving such people in normal life should be created. However, nor should we abandon steps which increase behavior responsibility. A person who has committed a crime has no right to feel insulted by the mistrust of those around him but must realize that trust must be earned. The desire to speculate on misfortunes "should be assessed properly and rebuffed on the part of those who are continuing with their educational work with such people." This view is entirely consistent with the party's requirements of systematically promoting the class viewpoint in assessing specific phenomena and cases.

The accelerated progress of our society toward perfecting developed socialism requires a decisive struggle against manifestations of insufficient civic maturity and discipline by some people (1). Criminological research is called upon to play an important role in substantiating the policy of the party and the state aimed at uprooting crime and other delinquencies. Strengthening the theoretical and practical potential of discipline greatly depends on its interaction with the other social sciences, sociology above all.

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8. See, for example, SOV. GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, No 7, 1983.

FOOTNOTES

1. On the conceptual level, the struggle against crime could be considered one of the major trends in domestic policy, "servicing" the solution of problems of demographic, economic and ideological policy, etc., by lowering the nonproduction costs to society. This is the purpose of the social role of the struggle against crime.
2. The author shares the viewpoint of the noted Soviet specialist R. S. Belkin, according to which the science whose object is the struggle against crime should be considered a combination of individual doctrines (theories) consistent with the basic elements of this struggle. Such studies are based on the concepts and conclusions of the "big" sciences (philosophy, sociology, theory of the state and law), which study the general and basic laws of social activities.
3. Unfortunately, the essentially accurate view of the authors relative to the place and limits of criminology is combined with a certain terminological inaccuracy. The concepts of "criminality," "delinquency" or "anti-social behavior" are used in some cases synonymously (see, for example, (3, pp 6-8)). The precise meaning of each term is provided only in the conclusion.
4. Naturally, a critical remark concerning one work or another does not mean an overall negative assessment of the work.
5. Kudryavtsev (7) was the first to formulate this idea.

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HISTORICAL MATERIALISM. PROBLEMS OF METHODOLOGY

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[Review of the book "Istoricheskiy Materializm. Problemy Metodologii" [Historical Materialism. Problems of Methodology] by L. F. Il'ichev. Nauka, Moscow, 1983, 255 pp]

[Text] The development of real socialism today is taking place under most difficult circumstances, for which reason the social sciences are facing new stricter requirements. The more time passes since K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin wrote their works, the more radical changes occur in the historical situation, changes which the heirs and continuators of the great cause must take into consideration, and the greater becomes the responsibility of the social scientists for making profound studies of the new problems the solution of which is linked with our social progress. Based on the fundamental problems of dialectical materialism, and always guided by the example of the creative development of Marxist doctrine by Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, the Soviet social scientists are called upon to energize their scientific studies and to ensure a decisive turn by scientific institutions "to the key practical tasks which face the country" (1).

Soviet social scientists are conducting such studies in several directions. The most important among them is developing on a contemporary scientific level methodological problems of upgrading the theoretical, ideological and practical efficiency of social knowledge.

The monograph by Academician L. F. Il'ichev and its content, structure and logic are most convincing proof that today there are no "purely scientific," "purely ideological" or "purely practical" problems but a single "science-ideology-practice" system, the trend and efficiency of which are directly determined by the manner in which problems of the nature and interaction among said components are resolved. It is precisely through such solutions that the depth, comprehensiveness, dialectics and the tremendous methodological significance of historical materialism--"the Marxist science of society" (p 23)--are revealed, covering "the materialistic understanding of history and the specific dialectics of development of the social form of matter" (p 24).

The problems considered in the book, clearly indicated in the titles of sections, chapters and paragraphs, may seem traditional. However, their content

is highly contemporary, for the author proceeds not on the basis of problems per se but from the practical needs, whether related to contemporary socioeconomic development of society or the ideological struggle, which make such problems topical.

An intensive search is under way today in science and, particularly, in practical work for methods for organizing socioeconomic development and perfecting the socialist way of life optimal in terms of contemporary circumstances.

I. F. Il'ichev's monograph substantially strengthens the theoretical base for such research. The monograph is a fundamental work written on the basis of contemporary scientific data, such as the fundamental and key categories of historical materialism, in which the category of socioeconomic systems holds the main position. The author is interested above all in the most topical aspects of this problem, important in contemporary social science, such as the structure of systems, the dialectics of historical and logical factors in the study of their laws and specific historical characteristics. Since today problems of historical and contemporary development of nations free from imperialist colonial dependence have assumed great practical significance and ideological urgency, they have legitimately become targets of research. In particular, the author analyzes in detail the main methodological problems which have appeared in the course of the international debate on the so-called Asian production method. In this connection, let us point out the profound substantiation of the author's conclusion that "in practical terms, the majority of elements usually related to the specifics of the historical development of an oriental society either contain no 'oriental' specifics or are distinguished from those of Europe only in their form. Even a specific combination of such features (compared with the West) in a specific society hardly allows us to draw the conclusion of the existence of some kind of special production method as a base for a particular Asian system" (p 99).

We know that individual practical problems can be successfully resolved only when problems of a general nature have been resolved and, therefore, comprehensively and profoundly studied. I. F. Il'ichev's work belongs to this type of research. It may seem initially that each of the problems considered seems to stand apart from the others. However, as we study the individual chapters and grasp the logic of the author's thinking, the deceptiveness of this initial impression becomes increasingly clear. Actually, the historical-philosophical and historical-sociological analysis provided in the monograph is not self-seeking in the least. It is on this basis that the nature of contemporary anti-Marxism and the significance which the extremely responsible attitude toward classical theoretical legacy and the development of the theory of Marxism-Leninism assumes in the contemporary ideological struggle become increasingly clear and profound.

Equally logical and legitimate is the transition from the study of systems to that of the dialectics of social life and consciousness, social relations and overall socioeconomic development and, subsequently, the methodological problems of the social sciences dealing with the various aspects and stages of this development.

The properly considered and tested definitions, characteristic of this monograph, will substantially influence the enhanced reliability of empirical research, the quality of sociological programs and the accuracy of indicators.

The fact that this book takes us out of the fog of discussions of the nature of the social factor is particularly important. It clearly proves that the "complex of nonmaterial--political (i.e., class above all), juridical and other relations are secondary and superstructural," and that "one of the main essential qualitatively differentiating features separating material from ideological social relations is the fact that material relations develop regardless of human awareness, whereas the ideological, before assuming their structure, go through the stage of being realized by the people as social relations" (pp 111-112).

Material and ideological relations act as social relations in the activities of social classes and groups. In other words, social relations are relations among people, individuals and social groups (as the permanent carriers of qualitatively different types of activities), distinguished in terms of social position and role in social life. In turn, social positions express the "reciprocal status of individuals based on contemporary social relations" (p 115).

These concepts are particularly important to sociologists, who justifiably consider social relations the main object of their studies. The specific structure of a given object is closely reflected in the logic of the author's considerations. It is a question, above all, of social groups within the unity of objective and subjective aspects of their activities and trends in the changes of the social positions of these groups and their role in societal social life and, consequently, their attitude toward each other and the personality as representing the dialectical unity of the general (general-social) specific and individual characteristics.

The existence of alternative approaches in a number of problems affecting the object and structure of Marxist-Leninist sociology (with a complete unity of views on the decisive role of historical materialism in sociological research and study and summation of specific data) makes us pay particular attention to the parts where the author discusses corresponding problems. This interest is entirely justified: here the reader finds a number of profound judgment and conclusions. L. F. Il'ichev proceeds from the fact that "Marxist-Leninist sociology is a broad concept which includes a specific structure of sociological knowledge, the purpose of which is to provide an integral picture of the social world," and that this structure must include the "general sociological theory, i.e., historical materialism" (p 197). However, the author points out, Marxist-Leninist sociology cannot be reduced in the least to historical materialism and the latter "is not limited merely to a general sociological theory. It is considerably broader. Societal socioeconomic development and laws of development and functioning and of interaction among various aspects of a socioeconomic system are the subject of historical materialism but exceed the framework of strictly sociological theory" (p 30).

Obviously, in order to upgrade the scientific potential of sociology today, we must not intensify but lower differences in the understanding of its subject, the more so since some such differences are the result of a circumstance which is usually ignored by the arguing parties: the problem of the object and structure of sociology is usually resolved within the framework of a single

science, whereas it should be considered comprehensively, bearing in mind that it must be refined also in terms of scientific communism and the other social sciences. The monograph has taken a major step forward in this direction.

Naturally, these notes on L. F. Il'ichev's book have made use merely of part of the theoretical material found in the work. Many problems of historical materialism, posed and resolved in the work, have been published elsewhere in the press.

The great attention which the public has paid to the monograph clearly confirms not only its high scientific quality, thoughtfulness and accuracy of definitions and arguments but also the tremendous significance which Soviet society ascribes to the development of historical materialism and the increasingly efficient use of this powerful ideological weapon in scientific and practical work, in the struggle against the enemies of Marxism-Leninism and in the assertion of socialist ideals.

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SOCIALIST PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT: PROBLEMS OF THEORY AND PRACTICE

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[Review by V. M. Yakushev of the book "Upravleniye Sotsialisticheskim Proizvodstvom: Problemy Teorii i Praktiki" [Socialist Production Management: Problems of Theory and Practice] by V. A. Medvedev. Politizdat, Moscow, 1983, 270 pp]

[Text] The use of the tremendous constructive possibilities of the developed socialist society directly depends on the efficiency with which the national economy is managed. Yet a great deal in the existing means and methods of management is inconsistent with the ripe problems of socialist construction and must be seriously restructured. The most important prerequisite for such restructuring is the interpretation of acquired experience and thorough study of shortcomings which hinder the efficient work of the economic mechanism. In recent years literature dealing with perfecting economic management in developed socialism has been enriched by a number of major studies. Noteworthy among them is the monograph by Dr of Economic Sciences V. A. Medvedev. This book considers the most important aspects of perfecting production management and offers a weighed assessment of acquired experience and formulated suggestions; it deals extensively with social problems and the increased role of social factors in upgrading production efficiency. It helps us to find our way in the difficult problems and trends of perfecting the economic mechanism and raises questions requiring a sociological analysis.

The study begins with a description of the material base of the socialist reproduction process--the unified national economic complex. Methodologically this is entirely justified, for the study of production relations (which is a topic of the entire subsequent presentation) should proceed from the level reached in the development of production forces.

The unified national economic complex is a complex system, the management of which calls for taking the level of maturity of production relations into consideration. The author justifiably assumes that under the conditions of developed socialism, when the level of maturity of ownership by the whole people is significantly enhanced, steps taken to perfect the management system should provide a scope for the utilization of its advantages and of all possibilities of maximally realizing the labor potential of our society including, in particular, private auxiliary farms which still account for a considerable share of some types of agricultural commodities.

The increased level of maturity of production relations is also manifested in the expanded realm of action of the law of planned development and the extension of this law to the social area. The author defines the range of social problems which require systematic control: manpower utilization, interconnection between the reproduction of material and individual factors within the national economic complex, a birth rate and natural population growth policy, control of migration processes, perfecting the system of distribution according to labor, intensifying the creative activeness of the masses, involving them in economic management, etc.

In undertaking the study of specific problems of perfecting the economic mechanism, the author raises the question of the result of the reform of the second half of the 1960s. The answer to this is not easy. Two conflicting viewpoints may be found in assessing the results of the reform: "In some cases, a generally positive assessment of the work...done in terms of the means and systems of management, and current measures are considered simply as the extension of this work. In others, which are encountered more frequently, a negative assessment is given to the efforts to perfect the economic mechanism in the 1960s. The negative consequences of increasing the autonomy of enterprises, a trend toward profits, etc., are particularly emphasized" (p 58). According to the author, both viewpoints suffer from a simplistic approach: in reality, the reform did not justify all hopes, above all because "the step of broadening the autonomy of enterprises, which was included in the reform, was not supported by perfecting centralized planned economic management" (p 62).

Nevertheless, the author acknowledges the faultiness of the existing situation, in which "enterprises could reach high profit and profitability indicators by artificially raising wholesale prices, thus turning such indicators into an antistimulus for efficient economic management" (p 61). However, this takes place not because the profit and profitability indicators are insufficiently reliable yardsticks for the efficiency of socialist production but because of the economic situation which has developed in the country, "characterized by scarcity of output and the consequence of insufficiently balanced production" (p 62).

Why do shortages remain in the national economy? V. A. Medvedev answers this question by citing two reasons: "the occasionally allowed incomplete balancing of plans and relying on achieving a balance by finding additional resources in the course of plan implementations..." (p 168); "nonfulfillment of planned assignments for the production of one commodity or another" (ibid.).

In our view, the author is entirely right by assuming that the nonfulfillment of the nomenclature plan leads to shortages. The nonfulfillment itself is caused, as a rule, by the orientation of enterprises toward earning the highest possible profits, which encourages them to produce profitable goods above all. Equally unquestionable is the properly argued basic conclusion that we cannot "eliminate shortages and achieve economic efficiency by one-sidedly narrowing centralized economic management and maximally developing the autonomy and self-support of enterprises, or intensifying the market methods of economic management. To us this system is basically unacceptable"

(p 177). V. A. Medvedev substantiatedly proves quite precisely market levers are unacceptable and the reasons and circumstances governing their rejection.

The author also raises an important problem directly related to the practice of sociological research, such as eliminating scarcity and ensuring the necessary manpower for the national economy. He convincingly criticizes "occasionally expressed ideas of the expediency of developing within the national economy a certain stress in job finding, in order to stimulate the strengthening of the discipline, upgrading labor-intensiveness, lowering cadre turnover, etc. All such problems are topical but must be resolved on the basis of new methods, inherent in socialism and a planned economic system" (p 193). In his view, in order to meet manpower requirements, we must pursue an active policy in the utilization of labor resources, the main tools of which are technical progress, upgrading labor productivity and taking steps relative to the interprofessional, intraprofessional and interregional manpower migration. The author highly rates a form of controlling manpower dynamics, such as comprehensive socioeconomic planning with enterprises, associations and regions, which "enables us to define on a scientific basis trends and prospects of changes in the structure of production collectives and the release and utilization of manpower..." (p 197).

The acceleration of scientific and technical progress is a key factor in economic development. The book convincingly proves that it has become urgently necessary to formulate an entire picture of managing the scientific and technical revolution under socialist conditions and to adopt a comprehensive approach which should include the following basic components: substantiating organizational forms of ties between science and production and scientific services for the national economy; a system of planning, financing and providing material incentive for scientific and technical progress and the social factors which determine it. Each of these components is analyzed in detail.

The sociologists will unquestionably be interested in the part of the monograph describing the substantiation of topical problems facing the social sciences in terms of the further enhancement of national economic efficiency. In particular, the social sciences must formulate instructions to science and technology and earmark the social and economic levels which must be reached as a result of scientific and technical developments.

The author justifiably points out that socialist competition can play a major role in the development of the scientific and technical revolution. This calls for eliminating its separation from scientific and technical progress and achieving the organic combination of the two. In this connection, perhaps greater attention should be paid to the importance of creative competition in science. Practical experience proves that monopoly of a scientific trend leads to stagnation whereas competition among different schools contributes to progress. This truth must be systematically implemented: conditions must be created contributing to the creative discussion and solution of topical scientific problems.

The author discusses extensively the development of the democratic foundations of production management. Such problems are considered in the broad context

of involving the working people in the formulation, adoption and implementation of management decisions. Democracy is clearly manifested in the active participation of the working people in labor organization and norming, counterplanning, socialist competition and development of the collective contracting system. The author ascribes great importance to increasing public control over the activities of managing personnel, their selection and promotion and the more extensive use of democratic procedures such as the competitive system and the election of economic managers of brigades, sectors and shops. Let us recall that in the mid-1960s sociological experiments were conducted on electing economic managers. At that time, however, no practical followup occurred. Obviously, such experiments were premature. Matters are different today, and we share V. A. Medvedev's viewpoint, according to which the necessary conditions and prerequisites for developing the system of electing economic managers exist: high level of general and professional training of the working people and the sociopolitical maturity of collectives.

In our view, the criticism of the interpretation of democratic centralism according to which increasing the autonomy and responsibility of associations and enterprises is considered a process of development and intensification of commodity-monetary relations is extremely topical. "Such an understanding of the matter," V. A. Medvedev believes, "is obviously one-sided and inconsistent with the actual content of the social nature of social production and commodity-monetary relations" (p 206). We fully agree with this assertion and, in turn, would like to point out that V. I. Lenin, in speaking of democratic centralism, related it to the development of socialist competition ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, pp 150-151). Possibly, in this connection the author should have discussed in greater detail the role of the socialist competition in perfecting distribution according to labor and, particularly, increasing bonuses based on socialist competition results. This step, as practical experience indicates, turns the competition into a powerful factor for upgrading labor activeness.

The monograph considers in detail the activities of social organizations and institutes participating in production management (trade unions, workers meetings, standing production conferences, scientific and technical societies, economic analysis and labor norming bureaus, voluntary scientific research institutes, etc.), which must be comprehensively developed and perfected. Hence the social instruction which must be issued to the science of sociology: "From the viewpoint of their structure, function, content and work methods, turn such bodies into a more streamlined system and demarcate but also interrelate and introduce a specific ordination and subordination in their functions" (p 223). The concluding parts of the book analyze the topical problems of the development of economic theory: the purpose of socialist production, the political-economic interpretation of its efficiency, the place of consumer value in the economy of developed socialism and the correlation between planning and commodity-monetary relations. Debates are taking place in scientific publications on each one of these problems, and different and sometimes diametrically opposed views are expressed. This makes both theoretically and practically relevant the well-thought-out conclusions and assessments of one of the most prestigious students of contemporary socioeconomic processes.

Unquestionably, this book will be of great interest not only to economists but sociologists as well. Furthermore, the study of social problems, combined with economic and, in many cases, ideological ones, has given the author the possibility of substantially enriching the results of his studies in each one of these directions.

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THEORY OF SOCIOECONOMIC SYSTEMS

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[Review by V. G. Popov of the book "Teoriya Obshchestvenno-Ekonomicheskoy Formatsii" [Theory of the Socioeconomic Systems]. Nauka, Moscow, 1983, 357 pp]

[Text] The further development of the theory of the socioeconomic system is of unquestionable scientific interest to sociologists. It provides a base for the profound interpretation of empirical data and enables us to trace the profound trends of social development and to formulate constructive practical recommendations. The study of systems is particularly topical in light of the expansion of foreign economic determinism, which has not been ignored in some works by Marxist sociologists. We know that the economic context of the system category is defined by the key concept of production relations within the social relations system. However, the concept of the "economic social system" cannot be considered as an analogy or an abridged variant of the concept of the socioeconomic system. The predominance of a detailed "economic" (and terminological) viewpoint in the views expressed by Marx on the structure and sequence of systems was determined, we believe, by the sequence of the socio-practical problems he resolved in surmounting the idealistic views on society. Here the dialectical idea of the social organism which establishes systems relations within the social entity, including spiritual production within a given social system, has been a constant theoretical postulate.

The system is defined in the monograph as a specific-historical type of society and a stage in universal history, which is a system determined by the production method and obeying the laws of the appearance, functioning and conversion to a more developed stage of social progress (pp 65-66). This definition is aimed, against confusing the levels of abstracting the formation process, the absolutizing of the essential common features, on the one hand, and against the identification of the content of the system with exclusively regional or empirical varieties of social relations, on the other. The singling out of the forming type of relations in countries which have reached the same level of historical development is based (among others) on the procedure of idealizing the maximal opportunities for the development of a given type of relations and ends with building a theoretical model of social reality.

The monograph authors define the socioeconomic systems as an independent category which characterizes direct production relations of a specific type (p 131). The monograph directs the study of a mixed social organism toward

the hierarchy of one social structure or another: system (structure)-intra-system (substructure, superstructure); entity (economic organism-element, economic cell); universality (formation structure)--locality (specific-historical variety of relations). Unquestionably, this approach is scientifically new. To begin with, emphasizing the integration function of the structure enables us to study in detail the levels and degrees of consolidation of the economic foundations of society. Secondly, the researcher considers fragments of nonstructural relations which exist as an appendix to the system, formed by relations of a different type (hired labor in antiquity, petty commodity production under capitalism, usury and mercantile capital in precapitalist society). Thirdly, an attempt is made to present a picture of interaction among structures and their individual components. In our view, such a methodological stance assumed by the monograph authors is quite fruitful and worthy of further development.

Sociologists will unquestionably be interested in the chapter on the development of the bourgeois socioeconomic system. The link between simultaneously existing "generations" of the bourgeois system provides the authors with grounds for an original "structural" characterization.

Sociopolitical processes in the contemporary world have aggravated the problem of the choice of ways of development of the liberated countries. The author of this part of the book proceeds from the productive methodological idea according to which transitional structures in this area are a qualitatively new historical reality which potentially includes socioeconomic systems already covered by mankind. This creates a foundation for the dialectical consideration of the one-sided characterization of such societies as a "gap" between "normal systems," as a consequence of an allegedly total intermediary system. The monograph does not underestimate the difficulty of analyzing the structure of the liberated countries. The researchers consider their roots in the local-historical characteristics of the targets of their study, the features of previous developments and the global economic status of the "stepsons" and "favorites" of neocolonialism.

The problem of the coincidence among theoretical forecasts and results of the construction of the new society is resolved on different levels in the chapter on "the communist system, its nature and basic development stages": nature of the communist type relations (general theoretical); the local-historical structure of a specific system (specific-historical); and on the level of specific-practical and, particularly, political solutions (pp 325, 338). The authors convincingly prove that on the level of the general theory the transitional period linking the systems is compressed to the extreme. This conclusion will draw the attention of sociologists and make them think of the problem of the relationship between philosophy and specific research.

The monograph under review is distinguished by its high philosophical level of resolving research problems and the formulation and study of a number of new and traditional problems of the theory and methodology of socioeconomic systems.

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TWO BOOK REVIEWS

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[Review by V. G. Alekseyeva of the books "Poznay Sebya v Tvorchestve. Sotsiologicheskiye Problemy Truda Molodezhi" [Find Yourself in Creativity. Sociological Problems of Youth Labor] by I. P. Smirnov. Molodaya Gvardiya, Moscow, 1982, 175 pp; "Sotsial'no-Klassovaya Preyemstvennost' y Vospitaniye Molodykh Rabochikh" [Socioclass Continuity and Young Worker Upbringing] by B. S. Pavlov. Nauka, Moscow, 1984, 224 pp]

[Text] These books combine the desire of their authors to answer one of the most topical problems of contemporary socioeconomic development: how to make young people more interested in work, in worker professions in particular, and how to ensure the stability of young industrial cadres and upgrade their social activeness?

In resolving this problem, both Smirnov and Pavlov rely on empirical data, while, at the same time, paying great attention to theoretical analysis. Thus, Smirnov thoroughly investigates the very concept of social activeness, which in itself is of interest to researchers dealing with this problem, for the substantiation and uniformity of interpretation of terms is a primary condition for data comparability and the accuracy of their theoretical summation. The essence of Smirnov's concept, which is the logical pivot of the entire book and in accordance with which the empirical and theoretical data are organized, is as follows: "the category of social activeness has as broad as possible a content. It is identified through the understanding of its basic types," which include production and sociopolitical activeness which characterize the extent of the working people's participation in the creation of material goods and perfecting social relations. The fact that it is a question not of any sort of activity but specifically of the most effective levels of activity from the viewpoint of the social interest is confirmed by the author's suggested interpretation of the concept of production activeness. It is not limited to "performing the working people's professional functions," but includes "activities aimed at perfecting equipment, technology and production organization: applying a scientific organization of labor, rationalization and invention, upgrading labor productivity on the basis of participation in the socialist competition and counterplanning, etc." (p 8). One of most interesting theoretical ideas in the book deals with preparing the young generations for a labor career. This problem is considered in the chapter "Masters of Tomorrow." The social activeness of a person, the author claims, does

not simply depend on upbringing and its results. These two processes are of equal value in the period of socialization and development of the personality. "On the general level," Smirnov writes, "socialization may be described as a dialectical process of development of social activeness of young people, above all their preparatory-labor functions. It is ensured on the basis of general education and polytechnical training and ends when the young worker has reached the level of production-economic and sociopolitical activeness consistent with the given stage of development of social relations" (p 45).

In noting the theoretical and methodological significance of this concept, we should nevertheless emphasize that this could be refined in at least two respects. First, scientific publications have already pointed out that the term "socialization of the individual" is incorrect, for the concept of "individual" earmarks a specific degree of social development of the individual; secondly, although not objecting to the very term "socialization," we would like to suggest to the author to make greater use in the future than in the present work of its meaningful potential. In particular, unlike the concept of "molding the individual," the term under consideration offers greater opportunities for establishing not only aspects of the social influence on the child and, subsequently, the adolescent, but also the efforts of the latter in self-education and manifestation of responsibility for their civic future. The more so that in this case the meaning of the terms "socialization" and "activeness" turns out to be perfectly identical.

The range of theoretical problems studied is broader in Pavlov's book. Here we find fruitful and largely original and interesting studies of problems such as continuity of worker generations in labor activities (starting with a consideration of the very concept of "generation") preparing children and adolescents for physical work, developing a worker pedagogy in worker collectives and many others. Legitimately, however, both authors give priority to the topic of the socioclass and vocational orientation of youth and the involvement of young workers in labor and sociopolitical life. Both works are problem books in the best meaning of the term: the authors do not simply describe the existing situation as is unfortunately frequently the case in sociological publications, but try to sense the weak spots in the process of the development of new worker generations in developed socialist society and to identify contradictions the elimination of which could optimize said process. It is precisely in this area that the books refine, support and complement each other most clearly.

Thus, both authors identify the contradiction between the need for the quantitative and qualitative growth of the working class, which is increasing in the country, on the one hand, and the relatively low prestige enjoyed by some worker professions, the insufficient labor and sociopolitical activeness of part of the working youth and low efficiency in the labor upbringing of secondary school students, on the other, and between the aspirations of young people for creative work and the fact that, despite all successes achieved by the scientific and technical revolution, modern technology, as Smirnov justifiably points out, is still impossible without monotonous operations. In this connection, Pavlov draws the attention to the following circumstance. The pace of development of scientific and technical progress and its influence on

reducing professions and occupations related to physically unskilled and hard work within the public labor structure, is frequently overestimated in training and propaganda. This greatly harms the education process (p 84).

The "main spirit" of the books under review is focused on determining the possibilities and opportunities for surmounting said contradiction. It is natural, therefore, that both authors have paid prime attention to the prospects and consequence of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the creation of conditions for the fuller manifestation of the social value of socialist labor, priority in which is assigned to the development of the individual and the growth of the civic responsibility of the working people. In this connection, however, Smirnov emphasizes the enhanced activeness of Komsomol and youth organizations as a prerequisite for shaping and strengthening an active life stance in the young worker, whereas Pavlov considers in detail possibilities of other earlier involvement of adolescents in physical work and adolescent physical development as a whole. He properly criticizes the erroneousness of the widespread opinion (above all in the common way of thinking) of the equivalency in the upbringing and development of the physical qualities of the future worker of physical culture (sports), on the one hand, and participation in physical labor, on the other" (p 85). Nevertheless, noting the legitimate nature of changes in the labor upbringing of young generations in the realm of public (extrafamily) upbringing, it seems to us that the author somewhat simplifies the question of the role of the family in preparing the young people for labor. Such a view does not coincide with empirical facts (such as data on the predominant significance to most adolescents of the views of family members in the choice of a profession) and theoretically established tradition which resolve the problem by strictly separating its two aspects: the question of the educational potential of the family, which is exceptionally important to the child, and is essentially irreplaceable, and the question of the system used in the implementation of this potential under contemporary conditions, the level of which has remained considerably below the optimal by virtue of a number of objective and subjective circumstances.

In justifiably emphasizing the significance of the physical training of the young generation as a prerequisite not only for its health but for upgrading the reputation of physical work, Pavlov improperly restricts man's spiritual ability to work merely to abstract thinking, the speed of mental reaction and sharpness (p 83). It is true that this is followed by the usual formal "etc." However, this "etc." should mean that if the problem is to be resolved in its entire depth and extent, we should include moral-political qualities, aesthetic taste and ecological culture, i.e., factors without which neither a socialist attitude toward labor nor the feeling of ownership inherent in the contemporary Soviet person and socialist collectivism are possible. Apparently, the somewhat narrower interpretation of the spiritual ability to work is largely explained by the fact that the author has ignored virtually all work done in the 1980s, including empirical studies of the problem of work and young people.

Therefore, each one of the books under review reflects both the achievements of our sociological science, above all its aspiration to resolve the practical problems of building socialism and party interest in the common project, as well as the weak sides of sociological research, above all the insufficient

consistency of some theoretical solutions. In particular, in studying the attitude of young people toward labor we must not ignore the profoundly individual features of the subject of labor activities. When we speak of creative labor, obviously we should interpret this concept not simply on the basis of the characteristics of labor as such but the established measure of their consistency with the individual capabilities and possibilities of the worker. Types of creativity and ability vary. Should they fail to coincide, however attractive the work may be in itself, it becomes ineffective both economically and morally for those who perform it and for society. Pavlov justifiably writes of the great moral losses related to unimplemented plans (p 118) and the legitimacy of aspiration toward creative labor by the individual. However, the problem has another more important side: the losses are most severe when the plans and aspirations are implemented but without consistency and, sometimes, in direct conflict with the objective and subjective components of creative work. Unfortunately, this dialectics of the object and the subject in labor activities has been ignored in both books.

It also seems to us that both the theoretical and practical educational value of these books would have been higher had the authors addressed themselves in their arguments less to the views of authorities or exceptional examples of creative attitude toward labor (although both could be quite pertinent in moderation), but to the mass, daily and typical examples of creative work in our time, for the distance between reality and guideline may turn out to be insurmountable unless the latter includes an example of real, well-familiar and widespread work with all its joys and disappointments.

Finally, let us consider the use of empirical data. They play an essential positive role in both works. However, the effect of their use could have been significantly greater, had the authors shown concern for including more organically tables, figures and individual empirical facts in the fabric of their theoretical narration. This is a question not only of frequent violations of methodical rules of use of tables and simple figures and the absence of sufficiently complete information on research the results of which are mentioned in the text, but also of very scant comments about a significant percentage of such data, not to mention their analysis, comparison with other data, etc. The specialists know that this is a common fault of many if not most books on sociology. In addition to the authors, this blame should be addressed to publishing houses whose personnel, instead of demanding of the author a corresponding standard of professional knowledge, frequently call for eliminating from the books proof of reliability, substantiation and scientific confirmation of empirical data, which is inadmissible even in popular science works, for this weakens and ultimately even reduces to naught the power and persuasiveness of arguments.

Books on preparing young people for work and their integration in labor collectives are very necessary. Unquestionably, the books under review will add to the results of scientific research in this area and cover some new aspects of a major and difficult problem. We must also admit, however, that they have insufficiently used possibilities of theoretical, research, practical and labor standards in the social development of the working class.

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LABOR STANDARD IN THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 84
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[Review by A. I. Kravchenko of the book "Kul'tura Truda v Sotsial'nom Razvitii Rabochego Klassa" [Labor Standard in the Social Development of the Working Class] by G. N. Sokolova. Nauka i Tekhnika, Minsk, 1984, 220 pp]

[Text] The study of the standard of human activities presumes a consideration of the structure of means of production, forms of ownership and the nature, content and organization of and conditions for labor. It is precisely this specific aspect that determines the general and the specific features in the standard of activities. Noteworthy in this respect is the consideration expressed by Marx: if the socially dominating labor tool is a spinning machine and the worker is given an antique spinning wheel, no high quality of labor can be obtained.

The author singles out as the "realm of manifestation of standard-setting labor functions" the interaction between man and equipment; the interaction among people as performers of a variety of labor functions; and the awareness by the people of the sum total of social relations (p 37). Each of these areas essentially covers different processes. The first is the trend of the scientific and technical revolution and production automation and mechanization; the second, the development of labor collectives; the third, the standardized-value concepts of the individual. However, these quite clear boundaries are unexpectedly disturbed when the author touches upon problems related, for example, to the structure of organization. Although such a departure from strict logical systems helps to a certain extent to integrate more flexibly research data, the conceptual model presented in the book stops being a means of interpreting empirical data. In our view, it would have been expedient to relate all three areas to the concepts of "public production standards," "labor (joint, collective) standards" and "professional (personality) standards," which would have enabled us to reach categories such as abstract and concrete labor. Here the concept of "content" and "nature" of labor would not describe phenomena operating on different levels: content as merely specific (individual) labor and nature as abstract (social) labor. The author justifiably assumes that both categories should be considered in a state of unity, as an essence and form of social labor (p 49). However, this concept is not carried out to its logical end. In particular, the concept of "content of social labor" is insufficiently described, although it comes up repeatedly in the book. Yet its empirical assessment is based on the totality

of economic sectors and, in a more specific case, the structure of the machine pool in machine building, for example. Actually, progress in this sector is defined by the predominance of automated lines and automatic assembly machines which ensure high operational accuracy compared to obsolete types of equipment. This proves not only the extent of the development of production forces but also the standard of public production. Correspondingly, the maturity of production relations is manifested in the nature of social labor.

Despite the insufficiently developed conceptual apparatus, the author follows the proper path as confirmed, above all, by the very thorough study of real trends and contradictions in production automation.

Unlike many researchers, who prefer to ignore the negative consequences of the scientific and technical revolution or suggest the type of steps to eliminate them, which cannot be described as other than pretentious. G. N. Sokolova has been able to avoid stereotypes and identify within the very logic of technological development the actually existing opposite trends in the process of labor loss of skills. Their material base is continuing production rationalization.

One of the unquestionable merits of the monograph is the comparison (and, therefore, the refining) of subjective information and statistical data. This has made it possible to identify realities which sociologists usually ignore, thus naturally lowering the representative nature of a scientific analysis. For example, the contradiction between the technical equipment of enterprises and the reduced amount of bonuses for the installation of new equipment is hardly descriptive of the production standard on the surface. However, as a result of the delayed assimilation of new production capacities, losses total 12-14 billion rubles, including a loss of 2 billion rubles as a consequence of delays in training skilled manpower (p 72). Could it be that this is the reason for the trend occurring in the course of sociological research, according to which the average ratings of workers in basic and auxiliary production are behind average work ratings by 0.1 percent (p 64)?

The author identifies the real contradictions and substantiates means for their resolution. She also invites the readers to argue and to submit their own interpretation for the trends in the development of labor standards.

The main standard-shaping process which influences the social image of the new contingent of working people is the intellectualization of labor. However, as the author's study proves, real phenomena do not always coincide with theoretically predicted patterns. Thus, in Belorussian industry a certain percentage of skilled workers are used in jobs requiring a low intellectual standard (p 101).

The sociocultural parameters of the content of the job were determined by the author with the help of indicators such as the sum total of value orientations toward responsibility and independent labor activities, mental and physical labor difficulties, nervous stress, satisfaction with the work, etc. The different closely related indicators have been classified into factors whose outline expresses the percentile breakdown of said indicators into selective

totals. These and other methodical means have made it possible to clarify the "fine structure" of social phenomena and to determine reasons lying below the surface. Here is a noteworthy conclusion by the author: the system of socialist labor standards includes organizational and technical relations, labor discipline, social and production activeness and a moral-psychological climate. In itself, what the author has been able to prove increases the strictness and explanatory capabilities of the theoretical model. However, Sokolova goes further and draws attention to a law which is not always covered in literature but which is of essential importance in labor sociology: the poorly expressed reciprocal determination of levels which form the labor standard. This circumstance is frequently ignored by practical sociologists in the formulation of recommendations in which, in order to intensify social activeness a suggestion is included to strengthen labor discipline or to reorganize the technical base. Obviously, the guidelines of social policy should be determined on the basis of substantiated scientific concepts rather than stereotypes of conventional thinking.

G. N. Sokolova interprets in a new fashion a number of laws and trends of development of socialist labor standards. This is one more convincing proof of the need not only to include this concept among the most important categories of labor sociology but also to use it as a foundation in combining a great deal of heterogeneous indicators of labor incentive and organization and the social development of collectives.

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SOCIALIST COMPETITION: ORGANIZATIONAL PRINCIPLES AND MANAGEMENT EFFICIENCY

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[Review by A. A. Danilko of the book "Sotsialisticheskoye Sorevnovaniye: Printsipy Organizatsii i Effektivnost' Upravleniya" [Socialist Competition: Organizational Principles and Management Efficiency]. By V. A. Poltorak. Vishcha Shkola, Kharkov, 1984, 208 pp]

[Text] The study undertaken by the author of the nature of the competition as a general sociological phenomenon and the mechanism and specific competition relations is properly supported with empirical data. The book uses data from the study conducted between 1976 and 1982 by the sociological laboratory of the Dnepropetrovsk Chemical-Technological Institute.

The author distinguishes between the concepts of "competition" and "organization of the competition." The former expresses a general sociological law which operates differently under different socioeconomic systems. The second characterizes the process of utilization of this law. In this connection, the book raises an understudied problem, such as the comprehensive nature of the principles of competition organization. The connection among them is so substantial that changing one triggers changes in others and worsens the overall situation. Poltorak convincingly proves this thesis with results of sociological studies.

However, the desire to cover the entire variety of competition problems has led to a superficial or simplified interpretation of a number of problems. For example, according to the author, the ratio between competitiveness and mutual aid is determined by the law of negation. The first round in the appearance of the effect of competitiveness is when the different groups of workers achieve substantially different results; mutual aid occurs in the second round, "which leads to a secondary equalization of results" (p 23). We believe that such an interpretation of the competition is unjustifiable and erroneous.

The author's effort to establish the interconnection between the prerequisite for the appearance and development of the competition and the principles governing its organization, we believe, is fruitful and noteworthy. The monograph brings to light the role of these principles in the structure in the management of socialist competition and their systemic nature and interdependence.

The author considers in detail the basic principles of competition in labor collectives (publicity, comparability of results and possibility for practical duplication). Thus, in describing the function of the first--the organizational, information-communicative and educational principle--the author analyzes the most widespread shortcomings in its use. On the basis of sociological research data, Poltorak proves that insufficient publicity is given to the adoption of competition conditions and result summation. The very course of the labor competition must be covered more extensively. This greatly contributes to identifying what is new and progressive and, in the final account, leads to achieving high production results and upgrading the socioeducational result of the competition. Similar constructive considerations are expressed also in the discussion of other principles. However, in some cases sociological computations are used to illustrate universally known facts whereas, conversely, the recommendations are pretentious.

The following thesis is quite noteworthy: in describing the principle of duplicating experience, the author singles out the following choices: repeating the ordinary, "normal" experience and mastering progressive work methods. In referring to data from the sociological study at the Svema Production Association in Shostka, where more than 70 percent of the respondents believe that they have no objective conditions for duplicating superior accomplishments, Poltorak concludes that for some groups of working people the purpose of the competition is to duplicate ordinary experience.

This extends V. I. Lenin's familiar stipulation of the practical mastery of the highest accomplishments above all.

The author has been able to describe most vividly the role of sociological research in upgrading the efficiency of the organization of the competition. Poltorak describes in detail the three directions followed in sociological work: study of the external objectivized facts of consciousness; study of direct consciousness facts (mainly with surveys); and social experimentation. Unquestionably, said section of the book will draw the attention of practical workers. However, it too includes inaccuracies. For example, the author suggests that the involvement of the working people in competition be studied primarily on the basis of the analysis of the pledges. Nevertheless, experience has confirmed that in order to determine this quite completely, we must have information on the following indicators: self-assessment of participation in the competition; making specific individual pledges; and assessing the worker's activeness by the manager.

The final section of the book is interesting; the author suggests a typology of recommendations developed and applied by sociologists on the basis of conducted studies. It is a question of practical suggestions, method materials and comprehensive recommendations on restructuring the entire system of the organization of the competition in a labor collective.

This work is one of the few to consider the sociological aspects of the organization of socialist competition. Despite individual shortcomings, it deserves the attention of the readers.

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SOCIAL STANDARDS AND SOCIAL PLANNING

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[Review by A. I. Zheltukhin of the book "Sotsial'nyye Normativy y Sotsial'noye Planirovaniye" [Social Standards and Social Planning] by V. G. Aseyev and O. I. Shkaratan. Profizdat, Moscow, 1984, 131 pp]

[Text] The authors explain the fact that they have addressed themselves to problems of social planning not only because of the increased significance of social standards in the practice of socialist construction and the increased role of the subjective factor in contemporary industrial production, but also by the fact that "socialist production has not as yet fully brought to light the specific nature of its own approaches and solutions and its own way in the development of equipment and technology" (pp 9-10). Indeed, the social consequences of the scientific and technical revolution (both positive and negative) exist under capitalism as well: increased intellectual nature of labor with a parallel depreciation of its content; improvements in overall working conditions with a drop in the skills of workers employed in automated production. However, socialism, which develops today on its own material base consistent with its nature, "must deal not only with the socioeconomic... consequences but also with the systematically formulated and systematically attained socioeconomic results of scientific and technical progress" (p 10). The authors ascribe essential methodological significance to this theoretical stipulation, for the indicators can only establish the social consequences of the scientific and technical revolution while preprogramming, predicting and directing its results are more easily achieved with the help of individual standards which reflect what is socially necessary.

The monograph contains an interesting historical description of the problem, saturated with facts. The authors prove that controlling social processes with the help of social standards was undertaken by our country during the very first years of the Soviet social system. The code of labor laws which was introduced in the 1940s gave the working people extensive social guarantees. Today, the authors point out, the trade unions extensively participate in the formulation and application of social standards; during the 10th Five-Year Plan alone more than 230 state and over 200 sectorial labor safety standards were formulated (p 23).

The book describes in detail the object, tasks, purposes and resources of social planning. The authors describe the major contradictions and short-

comings of this scientific discipline. Thus, the lack of specific targets in a collective creates planning "on the basis of achievements," using the method of simple extrapolation of actual trends without a study of the existing situation or breaking down assignments by degree of importance" (p 31). This results in a number of methodical recommendations aimed at the same level of planning and accountability indicator, entailing substantial differences in the structure of the plans themselves. In their study of these and other contradictions in social planning, the authors do not limit themselves merely to noting the facts but suggest a constructive solution, based on summing up the experience of frontranking enterprises, in the use of social standards. In comparing methods for computing the summing indicator as described in other publications, and showing their merits and shortcomings, the authors describe in detail their own method for computing the effect (or results) of the social development of enterprises, which "should express the degree of progress attained by a specific production collective in the system of social targets set in the guise of corresponding standards" (p 54). One of the advantages of this approach is that it has been practically tested.

The principal merit of this work is the expanded substantiation of the theoretical and methodological concept of social standards and their efficient classification, undertaken for the first time in our literature. Although not everything here is indisputable, nevertheless this conceptual model could be fully accepted as an initial step in the theoretical elaboration of social norming as a separate sociological discipline.

The strictly applied part of the work offers systematized methods for social standardization and discusses the concepts of concretizing an ideal, logical limits, modeling, groups, expert assessments and behavioral standards. The authors offer a comparative assessment of methods, which is of particular importance to sociologists working in industry.

The monograph is not free of shortcomings. Although it is of an applied nature, for which reason it would be generally erroneous to demand of the authors a profound theoretical interpretation of problems, their use of various terms to which they ascribe nontraditional meanings requires substantiation. For example, it is unclear whether the authors consider identical terms such as "social development" and "social efficiency." An equally vague use is made of the term "shift coefficient" (pp 41-46), which plays an essential role in the author's considerations. Economic reference publications classify the shift coefficient either as part of the equipment, indicating the number of shifts which machines, machine tools, and so on, work on a 24-hour-day average (1, p 195; 2, p 99), or else characterize the level of worker employment by shift (2, p 377). In the monograph this term applies to the mobility (turnover) of cadres, with which it is difficult to agree.

In conclusion, let us emphasize once again that this work is the first study of the problems of social norming made in our country. Naturally, people who follow an untrodden path will be facing many difficulties which, however, makes eventual results the more valuable.

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SOCIAL FORECASTING RESEARCH

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[Review by G. Kh. Shakhnazarov of the book "Poiskovoye Sotsial'noye Prognozirovaniye: Perspektivnyye Problemy Obshchestva Opyt Sistematizatsii" [Social Forecasting Research: Long-Term Social Problems. Attempt at Systematization] by I. V. Bestuzhev-Lada. Nauka, Moscow, 1984, 271 pp]

[Text] Social forecasting is an organic component of the scientific management of society. The formulation of a forecasting method and methodology is a necessary prerequisite for resolving the problems formulated in the party's documents. "The party's strategy in perfecting developed socialism must be based on firm Marxist-Leninist foundations," the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum noted. "Yet, frankly speaking, to this day we have not properly studied the society in which we live and work. We have not fully identified its specific laws, the economic ones in particular. That is why, occasionally we must act, so to say, empirically, applying the very inefficient method of trial and error" (1, p 19). The monograph by I. V. Bestuzhev-Lada, the noted specialist in social forecasting methodology, sums up research experience acquired by Soviet sociological science. It is the logical extension of previously published books on this problem, which were rated highly by the scientific public (2, 3, 4). The main feature which distinguishes this work is the thorough and profound study of long-term social problems which, in the author's opinion, will determine the trends of social development in the immediate and quite distant future. It is a question of global problems of our time as well as problems specific to building socialism in our country. Bestuzhev-Lada has set himself a difficult task the implementation of which presumes an extensive or, rather, panoramic approach to the interpretation of a variety of problems which encompass all basic realms of social activity: social structure, living standard and well-being, management, time budget, housing and environment, labor, family and demographic behavior, education, culture, etc. The risk here is that something may have to be said about everything while actually saying nothing, for each of the "topics" earmarked by the author is the subject of a separate trend in sociological research or the theme of a specific social science (demography, for instance). Nevertheless, a specialist in the methodology of social forecasting cannot ignore specialized problems limited by traditionally erected topic barriers. The individual social sciences engage in relatively autonomous forecasts. However, the methodological principles which govern them is the topic of social

forecasting which, consequently, is interdisciplinary. It is precisely this interdisciplinary and comprehensive approach to the systematizing of long-term social problems that is inherent in the monograph under review.

Scientific publications which deal with problems of the future are "fated" to draw the attention of a vast but, unfortunately, not always professionally trained audience. In all probability a number of readers will be disappointed by the failure to find in the book forecasts on the way of life of mankind in the 21st century. However, the specialists will find in it something as valuable as forecasts--the study of how to forecast, what are the possibilities for social prediction, what is the difference between search and standard, what is the "social problems tree" and answers to dozens of other problems, the simple enumeration of which would take several pages. These problems are organically interrelated and based on the essence of the concept developed by Bestuzhev-Lada of social forecasting research, which is qualitatively distinct from predicting future events.

The concept we mentioned may be reduced to the following: the actual future condition of social targets which, in principle, are subject to purposeful change, is unpredictable. This premise may initially appear quite paradoxical. However, the author convincingly proves that any strict prediction of the state of the social area is "absorbed" either by the result of a self-fulfilling prophesy or by the self-destruction of the forecast ("the Oedipus effect"). Furthermore, "if any such state could become reliably known, all human activities would change their meaning and be reduced to achieving something previously known, similar to the 'activities' of a winding toy, robot, mechanism, instrument, machine or apparatus. In other words, human society would no longer be human, turning into 'cybernetic,' 'teleological,' 'pre-programmed,' etc." (p 33).

Therefore, social forecasting research is oriented toward identifying an expected problem condition in the studied area via extrapolation of existing trends. Therefore, the conceptual apparatus of social forecasting is structured by the author as a system consistent with the practical tasks of the use of forecasts in management and planning. The seriousness and scientific novelty of the concept developed by Bestuzhev-Lada is that the practical effectiveness of social forecasts and their integration within the system of scientific management of society can be achieved only when they are clearly removed from day-to-day management decision-making. This concept is frequently ignored in the formulation of target programs. In particular, the forecast becomes identified with the plan and the developing problem situations are considered nonexistent "until lightning strikes." In this sense, this book is of unquestionable interest not only to "academic" scientists but to practical workers as well.

The monograph consists of two basic parts described by the author as theoretical and applied. The former deals with the logical-methodological problems of forecasting research, the nature and structure of social problems and the possibility of scientifically predicting problem situations. This is a first attempt in Soviet literature to provide a detailed systematized description of the conceptual apparatus of social forecasting, in terms of its significance,

principles and methods for checking and evaluating results. This part of the work can be successfully used in training forecasting specialists and will be of interest to anyone engaged in the study of such problems. The second part discusses specific problems of a global nature and problems of long-term social development of the USSR. Only with some reservation could this part be described as applied, for the author does not assign himself the task of suggesting a practical solution to the problems but undertakes their theoretical study. Nevertheless, in our view, the second part is directly related to topical problems of social development.

We must emphasize the significance of the structural analysis of problems of building socialism, undertaken by Bestuzhev-Lada, formulated in the documents of the latest CPSU congresses (pp 80-84). The materials of party congresses are the theoretical and methodological foundation for forecasting research and the elaboration of a hierarchy of problems and their overall systematization. In constructing the "problem tree," the author details the initial postulates. He does not merely describe the method used in forecasting research, based on the specific nature of target setting in the social area, but defines retrospective and future scenarios of corresponding social phenomena and possible ways of solving arising difficulties and complications.

Naturally, not all concepts expressed by the author are indisputable, but this is precisely the way it should be, for peremptory promising statements are most unsuitable in a science of the future. Bestuzhev-Lada's work has a party-oriented strictly scientific approach to the solution of difficult and unstudied problems of social development. The book is virtually free of so-called "fillers," which are still frequently used in social science publications--repetitions of familiar long-expressed truths and a boring and extensive reasoning leading to already known conclusions. In a word, this monograph is in the nature of a research and a topic for debates. One could agree or disagree with it and we believe that the author is more interested in the latter. What is unquestionable, however, is that Soviet sociological science has been enriched with yet another serious work which sums up previous accomplishments and earmarks future trends in the development of Marxist social forecasting. This becomes particularly topical today, when the theoretical activities of Soviet social scientists are concentrated on the formulation of a new draft of the CPSU program.

Let us conclude with a few words on the form of presentation of the data. To this day, this problem remains one of the "bottlenecks" in our social science and propaganda. Bestuzhev-Lada's book is distinguished by its precise and vivid literary style and clarity of presentation of difficult methodological and forecasting problems. Therefore, despite the entire complexity of the problems it discusses, it is easy to read and will be welcomed with great interest by specialists and the broad audience.

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FRENCH 18TH-CENTURY ENLIGHTENMENT

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[Review by A. K. Oganessian of the book "Frantsuzskoye Prosveshcheniye XVIII Veka" [French 18th-Century Enlightenment] by Kh. N. Momdzhyan. Mysl', Moscow, 1983, 446 pp]

[Text] The Soviet philosophy historians have studied extensively the creative legacy of the French enlighteners. The monograph by Kh. N. Momdzhyan, who has fruitfully worked on this topic for more than 40 years, is a major step in the recreation of the overall picture of development of the French Enlightenment. The author brings to light both the general features of the French Enlightenment and its internal differentiation.

Although pointing out the class base of ideological differences among the French enlighteners, Momdzhyan objects to its simplistic understanding and unnecessary straight and abstract noting of ties between the ideas of the enlighteners and their class affiliation. The scientific consideration of such ties requires a specific historical analysis of the socioeconomic relations of the age and the strict observance of Lenin's thought that "at the time of the writings of the 18th century enlighteners (universally acknowledged as the leaders of the bourgeoisie) and the time when our own enlighteners were writing, between the 1840s and 1860s, all social problems were reduced to the struggle against serfdom and its vestiges" (2).

A comparative study of the dialectical views of the French philosophers, which proves the groundlessness of views according to which pre-Marxian dialectics consists of nothing but German classical idealism, is an important contribution to the history of social philosophy. "A historical approach to the problem," the author writes, "would easily reveal that up to a certain limit the theories of Diderot and the other representatives of 18th-century French materialism on self-propelled matter are closer to dialectics than metaphysics. It is a dialectics in the early stages of its development, a developing dialectics which is still unaware of its own basic law and essence--the law of unity and struggle between opposites. We believe there is no need to identify as metaphysics such an insufficiently developed dialectics. It would be proper to allow the existence of transitional stages between metaphysical and dialectical thinking" (p 219).

The author relates the importance of the Marxist study of sociological doctrines of the enlighteners not only with their place in the history of social thinking but also their role in the contemporary ideological struggle. Thus, in speaking about Rousseau, he substantiates his criticism of the "new philosophers," such as A. Glucksmann, B.-A. Levy and J.-M. Benoit, for their efforts to present this great philosopher as opposing the ideas of historical progress and as a social pessimist who calls for a return to the primary "natural condition." The value of this criticism is unquestionable, particularly if we bear in mind that Rousseau was actually at the origins of the contemporary dispute between supporters of social optimism and social pessimism. According to author, the reason for distorting Rousseau's sociology is the lack of understanding of the dialectical nature of his thinking. It is precisely the "dialectical view on history that enabled Rousseau to draw conclusions quite unrelated to social pessimism (p 140). Momdzhyan, who considers Rousseau's principal merit in the fact that he was first in the history of social thinking to concentrate his theoretical interests on the problem of the conflicting development of civilization, rates the works of this French philosopher as "major step in the development of dialectical thinking and dialectical analysis of sociopolitical relations" (p 144).

For example, if we ignore Rousseau's dialectical nature of sociological thinking, we cannot understand how this thinker, who did not reach the level of materialism in philosophy, was able to express in sociology a number of brilliant guesses, anticipating the materialistic understanding of history. The author has been able to prove the manner in which Rousseau's dialectical ideas (on the historical leap from a "natural status" to a laic society as a rejection of the initial stage, the inherent reasons for the appearance of inequality and social stratification, the inevitability of the transformation of inequality into equality, the need for a historical approach to the individual, the state and the nation, changes in the national character as a result of social relations, the dialectics of the common and the specific, the interaction between cause and effect, and, finally, the basically dialectical nature of assessing the future development of bourgeois civilization) guided his thinking toward the search for the objective foundations of social phenomena.

After profoundly and comprehensively substantiating the thesis that the "principle of social development along the spasmodic and revolutionary transition from one phase to another is a characteristic methodological concept of Rousseau the sociologist" (p 139), the author traces the way the logic of this concept led Rousseau to the need to interpret the basic problems of the materialistic understanding of history, including the reason for inequality with the appearance of private ownership.

Sociology historians will be unquestionably interested in the essay on the conceptual outlook of Helvetius. The author begins with a consideration of materialistic sensualism, which is the theoretical-cognitive basis of Helvetius' views. He analyzes the characteristics of his sociological theory and ethical, aesthetic and pedagogical concepts. He notes that the application of materialistic sensualism in social life led Helvetius to express a number of ideas very fruitful in terms of the subsequent development of sociology, such as identifying the role of individual and group interests

as motive forces of social development and the importance of the environment in man's spiritual self-determination. "The ideas of group egotism and group interests and the unity of views and actions they determined laid the way to understanding, although still superficial and unscientific, of class contradictions and struggle. Unquestionably, it was such thoughts and considerations expressed by Helvetius and other 18th-century French materialists which led to awareness of the existence of classes and class struggle by Restoration historians..." (p 265). Momazhyan reaches this conclusion as a result of a profound study of the theories of the French materialists on society as the product of the clash and interaction among the interests of individuals, social groups and nations. However, the author justifiably assumes that the existence of elements of a materialistic understanding of history in the works of Helvetius and like-minded people does not substantiate the conclusion of their break with historical idealism. Material needs and interests themselves were considered by them not as sociohistorical factors determined by objective material production conditions but as biological and psychological principles determined by the abstract and nonhistorical "nature of the individual." Despite such a metaphysical concept of man, however, and regardless of the nonhistorical approach to the individual and the society molding him, the French materialists, Helvetius above all, were able to develop a theory of the establishment and molding of the individual under the influence of the environment, outstanding in terms of its depth.

The author describes the difference between the way Helvetius described the external environment and Montesquieu's concept. Montesquieu considered it one-sided, reducing it to the geographic factor. In exposing the groundlessness of geographic determinism, however, Helvetius was unable to avoid metaphysical errors in resolving this problem, the author points out. Whereas Montesquieu absolutized the role of the geographic factor, despite a more meaningful approach to the concept of the environment as the sum total of objects and phenomena which could influence man, Helvetius raised to an absolute the role of the political factor in social life. The form of political management and the existing state laws were considered by him the decisive factors in social determination, whereas the basic significance of socioeconomic relations on which they were based were ignored.

In turn, this triggered a conflict in the enlightenment interpretation of the problems of society and the individual: on the one hand, the environment shapes the individual; on the other, it is itself the product of the mind and the will of great personalities, for they virtually abandon the chain of historical determinism and act as creators of political and legal concepts.

In emphasizing that the enlighteners reduced the question of the laws governing historical development to the laws of the development of the human spirit, the author reaches the conclusion that "without overestimating the significance of individual guesses made by Diderot, Helvetius and Holbach, daring for their time, we should say that to French materialism as a whole the idea of the natural development of the human mind proved to be inaccessible" (p 275). Helvetius alone was able in some cases to come closer to a correct understanding of the law of history.

peoples already conceal the programmatic requirements of the 19th-century utopian communists on the elimination of private ownership, social and property inequality, classes, disparities between town and country, equality in education and upbringing, equality among nations, etc. In following this logical connection, the author presents profoundly and comprehensively the familiar thought of the classics according to which Owen and his fellow workers developed "the theory of materialism as a theory of real humanism and as the logical foundations for communism" (1).

Momdzhyan's book, written in a convincing, clear and vivid style, significantly broadens the horizon of scientific knowledge of the sociological legacy of the French enlighteners. Summing up the long years of work by the author on this topic, it is also a form of the author's self-criticism and his revision of a number of views, enabling him to develop ideas formulated in previous works.

It is noteworthy that the monograph was published on the eve of the 200th anniversary of the Diderot's death. By UNESCO decision, this anniversary was widely marked the world over.

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The final part of the book, which deals with the continuity between the views of 18th-century French materialists and 19th century utopian socialists and communists is interesting in itself. Based on the conclusions of the Marxist classics on the socialist materialistic trends in general and in French 18th-century materialism in particular, on the basis of extensive historical data the author proves that these trends could be found only under proper social conditions. It was only after the ephemeral nature of Enlightenment hopes for definitively applying intelligence and justice in a capitalist society and the identification of the predatory nature of the new system that real grounds appeared for criticizing it and for looking for alternative ways of social development.

In describing the sociological views of the French utopian socialists Fourier and Saint-Simon, the author comes to the conclusion that "no substantial differences exist between 18th-century French materialism and 19th-century French utopian socialism in the formulation and resolution of a number of sociological problems, such as understanding the 'nature of man,' the role of selfishness in human passions in social life, the question of the significance of social environment in molding the individual, the need to combine personal with social interests, etc." (p 406). However, he objects to another erroneous extreme--deleting the main watersheds among the different stages in pre-Marxian sociology. Neither Fourier, Saint-Simon or Owen were or could be simple continuators of the French materialists, for the socioclass roots of their world outlook were different. In particular, the author shows the profound difference between French materialism and utopian socialism in the ways and means of combining personal with social interests, the nature of the future "sensible social system" and the means to achieve it. Whereas Helvetius gave priority to reorganizing governmental rule and gaining bourgeois-democratic freedoms, Fourier and Saint-Simon were indifferent to politics and sought to the key to the solution of social problems in industrial and consumer measures, the purpose of which was to create an abundance of products and to ensure an equitable distribution system. Whereas French materialism promoted revolutionary slogans which called for a political struggle against the feudal system, Fourier, Saint-Simon and Owen were resolute opponents of any revolutionary violence against which they pitted peaceful propaganda and persuasion.

In our view, the author has provided a very good comparative study of Saint-Simon's and Fourier's utopian socialism and the utopian communism of Owen, Desamis and Blanqui, showing the basic difference between them, expressed in the requirement formulated by Owen and his supporters of replacing private with public ownership of tools and means of production. This leads to the important conclusion that the utopian communists were more systematic and profound than the utopian socialists in developing the ideas of the French materialists on the fact that the human will is determined by external circumstances and upbringing, the need to establish the type of order in which private interests coincide with the interests of the public, etc. In other words, there is a stronger continuity between French 18th-century materialism and utopian communism than utopian socialism. Indeed, the initial postulates of Helvetius's sociological doctrine on the environment as a source of all individual characteristics and on the intellectual and moral equality of all

FASCISM OF THE 1980S

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[Review by A. V. Fedotov of the book "Fashizm 80-kh" [Fascism of the 1980s] by M. N. Filatov and A. I. Ryabov. Kazakhstan, Alma-Ata, 1983, 350 pp]

[Text] The facts prove that today the danger of a restoration of fascism in the West is entirely real. National socialist parties and groups exist and are active in nearly 60 capitalist countries. Furthermore, a unified international organization known as "The Black International," has been created. Nevertheless, the bourgeois ideologues are not necessarily concerned with this threat "from the right." They are concerned with the threat "from the left": the growth of the international communist, worker, general democratic, antiwar and national-liberation movements.

The bourgeois theoreticians have some explanations of the real reasons for the "durability" of the social and class nature of fascism, formulating a variety of theories which suppress its true nature, ranging from traditional bourgeois-conservative to neo-Freudian, psychoanalytical and even "cosmogonic." In the United States, for example, the "theory of modernization" is quite popular. According to this theory, fascism is a phenomenon which contributes to the economic growth and industrial development of the state. Thus, A. Gregor and A. Kassels openly consider fascism a "modernistic force."

The authors of the work under review convincingly expose such views and analyze the varieties of contemporary fascism, above all that of the "Italian Social Movement--National Rightist Forces" represented in the Italian Parliament, and about 60 militarized terrorist groups which are pursuing a "strategy of tension," which has become an organic part of the general "crusade" against world communism, proclaimed by U.S. President Reagan. Furthermore, the book deals with neo-Nazism in the FRG and the policies and ideologies of right-wing radical movements in other Western European countries and in Turkey.

A noteworthy attempt has been made by the authors to interpret the so-called psychological-historical trend which became most popular in the United States and the FRG in the 1970s. To the bourgeois interpreters of fascism this approach is quite convenient: it enables them, using the interest in man as the subject of political movement, actually to exclude the social aspects of the person. Hence the absolutizing of psychological and even psychiatric

factors, especially manifested in the interpretation of Hitler's personality. For example, K. D. Braucher, the patriarch of West German "study of fascism," claims that the Fuehrer and Nazism "cannot be gauged in terms of political and practical scales, for contemporary society sees in them not merely an unexplainable dynamics of a single person but a universal horrible disease" (1).

In turn, American political science, aware of the advantages of psychoanalysis and references to the illogical and irrational nature of human actions, openly reject the class nature of fascism and the fact that it is the offspring of imperialism. This is particularly clearly manifested in the works of socio-psychologists K. Chris and E. Levenstein and sociologists A. Adler and E. Fromm. The main purpose of their "scientific" research is to legitimize the currently fashionable Western thesis of "humanizing" the crimes of fascism. This is achieved with the help of a very simple method: the crimes committed by the Nazis are ascribed to mental deviations of Third Reich leaders. This is only one step away from justifying fascism as a sociopolitical system as a whole.

Naturally, the neofascist movement is not the determining force in the capitalist world. However, the connivance of the bureaucratic apparatus of the leading imperialist countries encourages the dissemination of the ideas of "strong power" above all among the petite bourgeoisie.

In exposing the class nature of the fascism of the 1980s, the authors convincingly prove the historical limitations and the doom of fascist ideology. However, they also note that contemporary neofascism has acquired a number of new features. Quite frequently, one neofascist group or another rejects (particularly during electoral campaigns) most of the already compromised attributes of the movement. As a rule, increased interest in culture, ideology and the individual is intensively promoted. Fascist ideology is presented as a separate phenomenon, allegedly independent of its political content unrelated to it. The appearance of fascism is sought in the depths of the so-called "metaphysical human spirit." Furthermore, the contemporary neofascists try to present themselves not as the enemy but the supporters of democracy and constitutional order and juggle far less with the term "socialism" compared to their predecessors of the 1920s and 1930s. The ideas of the Germanic (Aryan) race are today replaced by those of "Atlantic" superiority and of a higher level "Western man"; the famed aggressiveness and cruelty of the "Nordic man," characteristic of the Nazis, is now replaced with more "peaceful" (but no less dangerous) views on the eternal foundations of human nature (pp 30-31).

In drawing the attention of the readers to the fact that after World War II the neofascists failed to create a mass party, the authors nevertheless caution that the threat of a new outbreak of the brown plague remains. To begin with, the movement has many active and passive supporters; secondly, significant population strata accept, one way or another, individual elements of neofascist ideology and could, under certain circumstances, become the social base of extreme reaction. Thus, according to sociology studies, one-half of the FRG population considers "nationalism" a good idea which was poorly implemented under the Nazis; 58 percent would like a "strong personality" to lead

the nation and 39 percent would like the country to have a single strong party." Public opinion surveys concerning Hitler's personality yielded even more alarming results: 85 percent of the respondents were convinced that the Fuehrer was "concerned with maintaining law and order"; "he wished only the best" (77.7 percent); 60.3 percent described him as "an outstanding person"; 68 percent described him as a "genius"; and 38 percent considered him an "extremely wise politician." The view that Nazism was not "all that bad" was expressed by 36 percent of those surveyed, while 21 percent believed that Hitler would have coped with contemporary problems better than today's politicians (2).

The real threat of fascism demands of the democratic forces effective means of struggle against it. The authors are perfectly justified by dealing in a separate chapter (pp 318-350) with the struggle waged by the communists in Western Europe against the ideology and practice of contemporary fascism which, as we know, strongly supports a new nuclear war.

The shortcomings of the work include, above all, obsolete statistical data (1973), for during the past decade significant changes have taken place in the neofascist camp and neofascism has significantly grown politically. Another remark should be addressed to the publishers: the abundance of stylistic errors, which confirms insufficient editorial exigency.

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**BANKRUPTCY OF THE ANTICOMMUNIST CONCEPTS OF THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET
INTELLIGENTSIA**

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[Review by S. N. Soskin and Ts. R. Rozenberg of the book "Nesostoyatel'nost' Antikommunisticheskikh Kontseptsii roli Sovetskoy Intelligentsii" [Bankruptcy of the Anticommunist Concepts of the Role of the Soviet Intelligentsia] by M. Ye. Dobruskin. Vishcha Shkola, Kiev, 1983, 195 pp]

[Text] This new book by M. Ye. Dobruskin is a first-of-its-kind monographic study in Soviet literature especially dealing with the critique of bourgeois and revisionist concepts of the Soviet intelligentsia. The author has performed this work quite successfully. This, we believe, is largely due to the method of presentation of the material: the consistent criticism of the most popular bourgeois views of the Soviet intelligentsia is paralleled by (and related to) the study of its true status in contemporary Soviet society. This has equipped criticism with proper arguments and a scientific substantiation.

The monograph opens with a study of the attempts made by Western sociologists to distort the methodological foundations for the solution of problems of intelligentsia as a whole and to prove that the founders of Marxism-Leninism had no integral concept of the intelligentsia and allegedly preferred to avoid the question of its class nature and failed to see its development prospects (L. Feuer, K. Nomad and others). The close study of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin made by the authors clearly prove the extent to which such claims are far from the truth.

On the basis of the ideas of the allies of the proletariat in its struggle for democracy and socialism, profoundly developed by Marxism-Leninism, the author exposes the antiscientific and reactionary nature of the pitting of the working class against the intelligentsia by bourgeois Sovietologists and revisionists and their rejection of the objective commonness of their interests.

A special section deals with the problem of defining the concept of "intelligentsia" and the criticism of its bourgeois interpretations. The author proves suitably the way the absolutizing of even a single feature of the social characteristics of the intelligentsia (profession, nature of labor, education) leads to a false interpretation of its nature.

The author singles out three of the great variety of anticommunist and revisionist concepts of the intelligentsia: the elitist, technocratic and nationalistic. We cannot say that Soviet sociologists have not criticized such concepts, the more so since they were formulated a long time ago. The specific nature of the author's approach is that he analyzes not only the origins of said views but also efforts to support them with "facts" borrowed from Soviet reality.

Dobruskin convincingly refutes the claims of bourgeois sociologists (A. Inkles, R. Aron and others) to the effect that the socialist society is as stratified as the capitalist. In discussing the topics of the "postindustrial" and "technotronic" society, the author notes that the common methodological fault of such theories is the absolutizing of the knowledge and experience of specialists and the distortion and exaggeration of their role in society (p 59) and, finally, the distorted interpretation of the social consequences of the scientific and technical revolution. Based on the false thesis of the suitability of such consequences for both capitalist and socialist countries, the bourgeois sociologists formulate the thesis of some kind of struggle existing between personnel in the state and party apparatus, on the one hand, and the scientific and technical intelligentsia, on the other.

The critique of the nationalist concept of the intelligentsia is essentially based on the exposure of the ideological diversions of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, who have dug in in the capitalist countries and are attempting grossly to misrepresent the distance covered by the Soviet intelligentsia in the Ukraine, its social nature and social role. They write about some kind of "intellectual ferment" among the Ukrainian intelligentsia, the so-called "Russification" of Ukrainian culture, etc. The monograph suitably rebuffs these and other fabrications of the worst enemies of the Ukrainian people and exposes Zionist sallies against the Soviet intelligentsia.

The author sensitively detects some new nuances in the theoretical elaborations of bourgeois scientists. In his book "The Soviet Engineer in the World of Industrial Labor," in an effort to support the concept of the "alienation" of the Soviet technological intelligentsia, West German Sovietologist E. Gleckner refers to organizational and technical blunders which occasionally occur in enterprises. However, as the author of the book under review proves, the alienation of labor is not a technical but a socioeconomic problem created by the exclusive status of the working person under capitalist production conditions.

West German sociologist T. Geiger tries to substantiate the "law" according to which opposition to the state is inherent in any intelligentsia in all historical ages. This concept is extensively used mainly to distort the political position and aspect of the socialist intelligentsia. It is ascribed features such as conformism, careerism and moneygrubbing. In exposing the slanderous fabrications of bourgeois ideologues and revisionists, the author provides an expanded characterization of the objective and subjective factors governing the increased role of the intelligentsia in Soviet society.

The author pays particular attention to the intelligentsia's implementation of its functions in the light of the requirements of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. He firmly rebuffs the slanderous claims of bourgeois authors concerning the so-called "political neutralism" of the Soviet intelligentsia and the "voluntary-coercive" nature of its social activities.

The book combines the vivid characterization of the positive changes in the role of the intelligentsia with a study of the contradictions and problems existing in this area and the author's specific suggestions and recommendations. For example, he points out the remaining errors in planning the country's needs for specialist cadres, the disproportion in the training of higher and secondary education specialists, etc.

Some errors may be found in the book as well. In particular, we know that Soviet literature has provided several definitions of the intelligentsia and it would be desirable for the author to substantiate, albeit briefly, the definition he supports (p 41). Along with a thorough study and critique of basic bourgeois and revisionist concepts, the views of some authors are presented on a rather fragmentary basis. This applies, for example, to bourgeois and revisionist ideas which distort the process of the surmounting in the USSR of the major disparities between mental and physical labor. It would have been pertinent to describe in greater detail the manner in which the Marxist intelligentsia in the capitalist countries is struggling against anticommunism. The author has made use of interesting data of sociological studies. Unfortunately, nothing is said about the method used in obtaining them and the nature of the surveyed areas.

Finally, a remark addressed to the publishers and the book trade. It is hardly justifiable for such a monograph so greatly needed by teachers in VUZs, scientific workers and the ideological aktiv to be published in an edition of no more than 1,500 copies. The presentation of the book leaves something to be desired as well.

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SOCIOLOGIST'S BOOKSHELF

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